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*Factum abiit—monumenta manent.—Ov. Fast.*

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# CONTENTS.

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## ANCIENT NUMISMATICS.

	Page
Archaic Coins probably of Cyrene. By Barclay V. Head, D.C.L., Ph.D. . . . .	1
Greek Coins acquired by the British Museum in 1890. By Warwick Wroth, F.S.A. . . . .	117
Eupolemus. By Warwick Wroth, F.S.A.* . . . .	135
Notes on Coins found in Cyprus. By Col. Falkland Warren, C.M.G. . . . .	140
On some rare or unpublished Roman Medallions. By John Evans, D.C.L., P.S.A. . . . .	152
Syracusan "Medallions" and their Engravers. By Arthur J. Evans, M.A., F.S.A. . . . .	205

---

## MEDLÆVAL AND MODERN NUMISMATICS.

The Anglo-Saxon Mints of Chester and Leicester. By H. Montagu, F.S.A. . . . .	12
--	----

Pennies of William I. and William II. By the R Crowther, M.A. . . . .	
Some Notes on the Coins of Henry VII. By A. J Esq. . . . .	
English Personal Medals from 1760. By H. A. F.S.A. . . . .	
On a Pax Penny attributed to Witney. By the R Crowther, M.A. . . . .	
On the Durham Pennies of Bishop De Bury and By H. Montagu, F.S.A. . . . .	
English Silver Coins issued between 1461 and 1- L. A. Lawrence, Esq. . . . .	

## ORIENTAL NUMISMATICS.

Notes on Gupta Coins. By E. J. Rapson, M.A. .	
---	--

## NOTICES OF RECENT NUMISMATIC PUBL

Revue Numismatique . . . . .	
Zeitschrift für Numismatik . . . . .	
Numismatique de la Crète ancienne. J. N. Svorone	

Ephemeris Archaeologike. J. N. Svoronos . . . . .	Page 110
The Historical Geography of Asia Minor. Professor W. M. Ramsay . . . . .	111
Catalogue des Monnaies Grecques de la Bibliothèque Nationale. Les Rois de Syrie, d'Arménie, et de Commagène. E. Babelon . . . . .	113
Traité de Numismatique du Moyen Age. MM. Arthur Engel and Raymond Serrure . . . . .	114
Les Monnaies et la Chronologie des Rois de Sidon sous la domination des Perses Achéménides. E. Babelon . . . . .	422
Numismatica. Dr. Solone Ambrosoli . . . . .	425

## MISCELLANEA.

Greek Coins acquired by the British Museum in 1889.— Corrections . . . . .	116
A New Coin of Dubnovellaunus . . . . .	198
A Further Discovery of Roman Coins in Southern India . . . . .	199
Treasure Trove, Whaplode, Lincolnshire . . . . .	202
Inedited Gold Crown of James V., with the name of John, Duke of Albany . . . . .	203
Find of Coins at Colchester . . . . .	413
Tityros or Tisyros . . . . .	417
An Unpublished Penny of Archbishop Cranmer . . . . .	418

## LIST OF PLATES CONTAINED IN VOL. XI.

## Plate

- I. Coins of Cyrene.
- II. Gupta Coins in the Bodleian.
- III. English Personal Medals.
- IV. Acquisitions of the British Museum in 1890.
- V. Coins found in Cyprus.
- VI. Roman Medallions.
- VII. English Silver Coins, 1461—1483.
- VIII.           Ditto                   Ditto.
- IX. Kimôn's First "Medallion" Type and illustrative coins.
- X. Kimôn's Later "Medallions" and illustrative coins.
- XI. Kimôn's Facing Head of Arethusa: Prototype and copies.
- XII. "Medallion" by New Artist (two diams.).
- XIII. "Medallions" and Gold Pieces by Evænetos with illustrative coins and gem.
- XIV. Evænetos "Medallion" Type and Imitations.
- XV. Coins in Evænetos' earlier manner.
- XVI. English Personal Medals.

# NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE

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## I.

### ARCHAIC COINS PROBABLY OF CYRENE.

(See Pl. I.)

A RECENT small find in the island of Cos of archaic coins of the Euboic standard, from which my friend Canon Greenwell has acquired some of the specimens described below, affords occasion for a few remarks on early Cyrenean coin-types, or what I believe to be such :—

(i.) Bunch of grapes within circle of dots.

Incuse square, within which youthful running male figure r., with curled wings at shoulders and ankles. He carries a wreath consisting of a dotted circle in each hand. His hair is in queue, indicated by dots. The whole within double square, dotted and linear.

R. Tetradrachm, 266 grs.

[Pl. I. No. 8.]

(ii.) Bunch of grapes, *from the same die as No. i.*

Incuse square, within which head of bearded Herakles l. in lion's skin, enclosed in square of dots.

R. Tetradrachm, 264·8 grs.

[Pl. I. No. 4.]

(iii.) Bunch of grapes flanked on either side by a leaf or smaller bunch of four grapes ; hanging from stalk, circle of dots.

Head of Herakles, *from the same die as No. ii.*

R. Tetradrachm, 256 grs.

[Pl. I. No. 5.]

[This coin was purchased by the British Museum 1872, and was placed among the uncertain coins.]

(iv.) Bunch of grapes flanked on either side by a leaf, <i>from</i> <i>the same die as No. iii.</i>	Incuse square containing crested helmet, &c. <i>At. Tetradrachm, 261.3 gra.</i>
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[Pl. I. No. 6.]

In addition to the above unpublished coins (Pl. I., Nos. 3, 4, and 6), the hoard contained an archaic tetradrachm of Athens of the very earliest style, similar to *B.M. Cat. Attica*, Pl. I., 5 (wt. 261.2 gra.), and an archaic tetradrachm of Mende of the usual type, ass with crow on his back, similar to *B.M. Guide*, Pl. IV., 8 (wt. 271.5 gra.).

The presence of this last coin in the hoard led me at first to think of Chalcidice as the district to which the new types might also belong, and their Euboic weight seemed to tell in favour of this hypothesis. A consideration of the types compelled me, however, to seek some other place of mintage. The fact that Nos. i.—ii. and iii.—iv. are from the same obverse-dies, and Nos. ii.—iii. from the same reverse-die, is strong evidence that they all belong to the same city; and there seems to be no city in Chalcidice to which such a type as a bunch of grapes would be appropriate, the obverse-types of the archaic tetradrachms of the Chalcidic towns being invariably as follows:—Acanthus, *Lion devouring bull*; Terone, *Amphora*; Sermyle, *Horseman galloping*; Olynthus, *Quadriga*; Mende, *Ass*; Potidaea, *Poseidon Hippios*; Dicaea, *Cow scratching herself*; Aeneia, *Aeneas carrying Anchises*, &c.

Moreover, the reverses of all these Chalcidic coins consist merely of incuse squares, either quartered or subdivided into triangles. None of them in the earliest period exhibit a device upon the reverse, and at a later

period, when reverse-types first make their appearance in Chalcidice, they are never enclosed, as on two out of the three coins now before us, in a dotted square.

Omitting, therefore, Chalcidice, the only other regions in which, on metrological grounds, it is admissible, so far as I know, to look for Euboic tetradrachms, are Eubœa, Athens, Sicily, and the Cyrenaïca; and it is to this last district that, in my judgment, the coins now in question must be attributed. Here, and here only, we find coins of the Euboic standard which have at the same time a type on the reverse sometimes enclosed in a dotted square within an incuse square (cf. Head, *Hist. Num.* Fig. 387, and Head, "*Coins discovered on the Site of Naucratis*," *Num. Chron.* 1886, p. 9).

It is true that this style of reverse, a type within a dotted square enclosed in an incuse square, is not by any means peculiar to Cyrene, for we meet with it here and there at various points on the coasts of Asia Minor, Crete, and Cyprus (e.g. on archaic coins of Tenedos, *B.M. Guide*, Pl. II., 19; Lycia, Pl. III., 35; Methymna, Pl. XI., 27; Cyprus, Pl. XI., 42; Crete, *B.M. Cat.* Pl. XIII., 12; and Samos, Gardner, *Samos*, Pl. I., 8); but, so far as I remember, never on tetradrachms of Euboic weight except at Cyrene.

So much for the weight and fabric of the coins before us. Let us now turn to the types, and we shall see, I think, that they are not inappropriate to Cyrene or, at any rate, to the Cyrenaïca.

First, as to the bunch of grapes. This is a type which forcibly reminds us of the contemporary coins of Iulis, in Ceos, of the Aeginetic standard (Imhoof, *Griechische Münzen*, Pl. I. 29—40), where it symbolizes the worship of Aristacos, the beneficent pastoral divinity, protector of

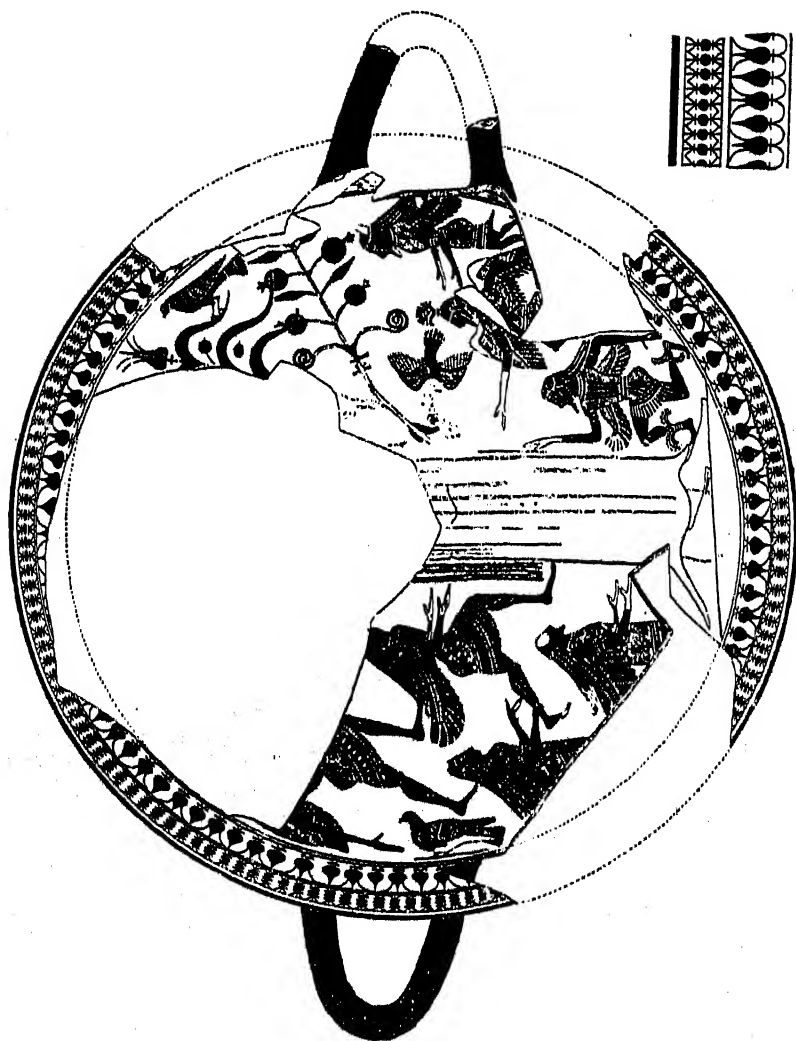


flocks and herds, of vines and fruit-trees, of corn-fields and bee-culture, against the scorching heat of the sun during the dog-days, and the parching south wind to which Ceos was much exposed.

At Cyrene the worship of Aristaeos, who was the son by Apollo of the nymph Kyrene, was not less prevalent than at Ceos, whence it appears to have been derived. We must bear in mind that the population of Cyrene was a mixed one. This we know from the fact that of the three tribes into which the Cyrenean citizens were divided, one, the *Νησιώται*, consisted of settlers from the Ionian Cyclades, doubtless including Ceos; another of Dorians from Thera with their vassals; and a third of Peloponnesians and Cretans. Whether the coin-types of Cyrene reflect this threefold division of the population is a very doubtful point, but it is at least noteworthy that the Cyrenean coin-types in archaic times are more numerous and varied than those of any other ancient city, and that among them there is one which offers unmistakable evidence either of a Rhodian settlement at Cyrene or, at any rate, of an intimate commercial relationship with Rhodes. I allude to the tetradrachm (Pl. I. No. 7) which bears, in conjunction with the national silphium, the lion's head of Lindus on the obverse, and on the reverse the eagle's head of Ialysus.

With this example before us, I have less hesitation than I might otherwise have had in suggesting that on the coins now in question, bearing on one side the bunch of grapes, the well-known type of the archaic coins of Ceos, we may perhaps trace a relationship between Cyrene and that island.

Of the three reverse-types the most important is the winged running figure, which I take to represent a wind-



Cyrenean Kylix from Naucratis, in the British Museum.

god. With it may be compared the interesting bowl of Cyrenean fabric lately discovered on the site of Naucratis (Petrie, *Naucratis*, Pt. I., Pl. VIII.), and a more accurate engraving, here reproduced, from Studniczka, *Kyrene*, Fig. 10. On the inside of this kylix the goddess Kyrene stands erect, holding in one hand the silphium and in the other a branch of the tree of the Hesperides. Behind her are four female winged forms, which have been identified as harpies, though they have not the bodies of birds. In this respect they resemble the harpies on the Phineus vase (Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, s.v. Phineus). Facing the harpies, on the other side of the goddess, are three bearded male divinities, with wings at their shoulders and ankles as on our coin. These have been explained by Studniczka (*op. cit.* p. 26) as Boreades, or mild and gentle breezes from the north, favourable to the growth of the silphium and other plants. They seem to be guarding the goddess Kyrene-Hesperis against the attacks of the harpies. Compare, again, the Phineus vase already cited, on which the harpies are pursued by the two Boreades Zetes and Kalais.

No part of the world as known to the Greeks depended perhaps more than the Cyrenaica upon the direction of the wind. The hot southerly winds from the deserts, here symbolized as harpies, dried up all the watercourses and tanks, and burnt up with their scorching blasts all fruit and vegetation. The north winds, Boreades, on the other hand, brought a welcome moisture and refreshing breezes from the sea. These mild, moist breezes were sent by Aristaeos, just as at Ceos he sent the Etesiae, which blew every year for forty days from the rising of Sirius, cooling the ground after the parching heat of the dog-days (Diod. iv. 82, 2).

Even in the present day, Hamilton tells us, there is

in these parts an almost superstitious dread of the south wind, the same wind which in ancient times swept away the Libyan tribe called Psylli, and buried them in heaps of desert sand (Herod. iv. 172).

It is but natural, therefore, that in a country like Cyrenaïca, where all the blessings of rich vegetation and unrivalled fertility were dependent upon the soft sea-breezes which periodically blew through its valleys, Wind daemons should be alternately worshipped and propitiated; and that this was actually the case may be inferred from the frequent occurrence of winged divinities on early Cyrenean vases. Thus we find a running male figure, with wings at his shoulders and feet, on a Cyrenean vase at Munich (Jahn, Cat. 1164), and, as Studniczka has remarked (*op. cit.* p. 24), "Similar though beardless figures fulfil on Cyrenean bowls with victorious riders the same function as Nike does elsewhere." They sometimes carry flowers and wreaths, as on our coin, and as on two other coins with somewhat similar types, which Babelon (*Rev. Num.* 1885, p. 395, *sq.*) has rightly, though on other grounds, attributed to Cyrene. On one of these coins (*Rev. Num.* 1885, Pl. XV. 4, and No. 1 of my plate) the figure has two wings attached to the waist and two to the ankles, and holds in one hand a wreath, while in front is the silphium flower. On the other coin (*Rev. Num.* 1885, Pl. XV. 3) the figure (in this case, perhaps, female) is in the same attitude; she holds the silphium flower in each hand, but the wings are wanting. A third coin [Pl. I. 2], a cast of which is in the British Museum (where the original is I do not know), is similar to, though not identical with, the specimen published by M. Babelon. With these figures on coins of Cyrene may also be compared a figure with

wings at shoulders and ankles, and apparently holding a silphium flower, on a fragment of a situla found at Daphnae in Egypt (Petrie, *Tanis*, Pt. II., *Nebesheh and Defenneh*, Pl. XXVI. 4), which probably also represents a harpy or wind-daemon, though Mr. Murray, in his chapter on the Daphnae vases in Mr. Petrie's work (p. 67), has called it Nike.

These instances will I hope be sufficient to show that the winged figure on the coin which I now publish for the first time is especially appropriate to Cyrene, and that, as it is a male figure, there can be little doubt that it represents one of the Boreades.

The next reverse type, the head of Herakles, requires little comment. The type of Herakles in the garden of the Hesperides, on the well-known tetradrachm of Cyrene (Müller, i. p. 11, Fig. 23), is in itself sufficient to prove that Herakles occupies a prominent place in early Cyrenean mythology; cf. also the Scholiast (*ad* Pind. *Pyth.* v. 101), θέλει δείξαι τὸν Ἀρκεσίλαον τὸ γένος κατὰγοντα ἀπὸ τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν. As Studniczka has already remarked (*Kyrene*, p. 20), "Herakles in Cyrenean legend represents the Peloponnesian element in the population."

The helmet on No. iv. is a type which it would be rash to speculate about, though doubtless it might be, with more or less plausibility, brought into connection with more than one Cyrenean myth. The attribution of this coin to Cyrene must rest, therefore, simply upon its resemblance in fabric, in the type of its obverse, which is from the same die as No. iii., and in weight, to the two other specimens with which it was found.

The present seems a good opportunity of putting on record a change of attribution which I have recently been

compelled to make while cataloguing the coins of Ionia in the British Museum. In my *Hist. Num.*, p. 490, and in my *Guide to the Coins of the Ancients*, 3rd ed. p. 6, 21, I have assigned to Clazomenae, in Ionia, the following tetradrachm of the Euboïc standard:—

Lion l. as if devouring prey; his tail between his legs; farther foreleg indicated by doubled outline of the nearer one; above, silphium flower; beneath, apple, countermarked with incuse quatrefoil; border of dots.

Forepart of winged boar l., beneath which, uncertain symbol; the whole in dotted square within incuse square.

Æ. Tetradr., wt. 265·6 grs.

[Brit. Mus. Pl. I. No. 8.]

Another specimen from same obverse die; silphium more distinct; apple not countermarked.

Forepart of winged boar r., no symbol beneath; the whole in dotted square within incuse square.

Æ. Tetradr., wt. 265 grs.

[Dr. Weber. Pl. I. No. 9.]

These coins are so different both in style and weight from the earliest coins of Clazomenae, that, had it not been for the winged boar, the attribution would certainly never have been suggested. As, however, this type is by no means peculiar to Clazomenae (for we meet with it both at Samos and Ialysus in comparatively early times, as well as on electrum staters and hectæ), there seems no reason why we should not find it also at Cyrene, especially as we have already seen that another Cyrenean coin-type (the eagle's head) is also found on coins of Ialysus. But this, perhaps, is a mere coincidence. The decisive point in favour of Cyrene as the mint-city of the lion tetradrachm is of course the symbol in the field above the lion's back.

On the specimen figured by me in the *Brit. Mus. Guide*,

Pl. II. 21, the form of the flower was not quite distinct, and I consequently failed to identify it as a silphium flower; but on the second specimen, recently acquired by Dr. Weber, which I now figure on Pl. I. No. 9, no doubt can be any longer entertained that the flower is a silphium formed precisely as on other Cyrenean coins (cf. Müller, p. 10, 15, p. 11, 17, and Bompois, *Monnaies de la Cyrénaïque*, Pl. I. 6), as well as on Cyrenean vases, where, combined with unopened buds, it forms a most characteristic border (cf. woodcut, p. 5). The other symbol, beneath the lion, I take to be an apple symbolizing the garden of the Hesperides. On Dr. Weber's coin it is more distinct, but on the Museum specimen, which is from the same die, it has been apparently countermarked or punched with an incuse quatrefoil.

The symbol beneath the winged boar on the reverse is hardly to be made out, though it might be taken for a boar without wings to the right (cf. this symbol on a specimen engraved in Müller, p. 10, 15).

With regard to the lion, this is a type so appropriate to Libya, that it is scarcely necessary to justify its occurrence as a principal type on a coin of Cyrene, especially as it is already known on other coins of the city or district (cf. Müller, *Num. de l'anc. Afr.* i. p. 9, No. 5). As a coin-type at Cyrene the lion is not due so much to the fact that these animals were indigenous in Libya as to Cyrenean myths and traditions, in which the lion is heard of in connection with the nymph Kyrene, with Battus and others (cf. Müller, *op. cit.* p. 62, where references to Pindar and Callimachus will be found).

According to one legend the contest between Kyrene and the lion took place in Thessaly, and Apollo, who witnessed the struggle, became enamoured of the nymph,

whom he bore off "beyond the sea to a chosen garden of Zeus, and that same day made accomplishment of the matter, and in a golden chamber of Libya they lay together, where now she haunteth a city excellent in beauty and glorious in the games" (Pind. *Pyth.*, ix.).

According to another version the kingdom of Eurypylos, in Libya, was ravaged by a devouring lion, to rid the land of which the king promised to bestow a portion of his realm on any one who should slay the monster. The nymph Kyrene performed the feat, and received the due reward of her prowess.

For representations of Kyrene contending with the lion, see the relief from the treasure-house of the Cyreneans at Olympia (Studniczka, *op. cit.* Figs. 20 and 21), and two groups in the British Museum (Figs. 22, 23), on the latter of which, a slab in high relief of a late period, the nymph is seen strangling the lion and crowned by Libya, who stands before her. A vine with pendent bunches of grapes (cf. the obverse types of our new coins, Pl. I., Nos. 3—6) forms an arch above the whole, while beneath is a metrical dedicatory inscription, in which Kyrene is called *Λεοντοφόρος*.

The above considerations seem to me to form, in the aggregate, a cumulative argument which tends to establish the Cyrenean origin of the lion tetradrachms previously assigned to Clazomenae, as well as of the recently discovered specimens which Canon Greenwell has kindly allowed me to publish.

BARCLAY V. HEAD.



## II.

### THE ANGLO-SAXON MINTS OF CHESTER AND LEICESTER.

It is somewhat remarkable that in a work so carefully compiled and so accurate in its details as that on the "Anglosachsiska Mynt i Svenska Kongliga Myntkabinettet funna i Sveriges Jord," by the late Dr. Bror Emil Hildebrand (Stockholm, 1881), the mints of Chester and Leicester should have been systematically reversed. Under the reign of every Anglo-Saxon monarch of whom the author describes coins struck at these mints, commencing with Eadgar and terminating with Eadward the Confessor, he gives the Chester coins to Leicester, and the Leicester coins to Chester.

I mentioned the subject of this erroneous attribution to Dr. Evans in 1885, when he wrote his description of a hoard of Saxon pennies found in the City of London in 1872 (*N.C.* 3rd S. vol. v. p. 258), and he therein refers to the point. Since then my attention has again been called to the subject owing to doubts having been raised in other directions, and I think that it may be beneficial to dispose of the question, once and for all, in order that future error may be avoided.

For this purpose it may be almost sufficient to give in the first place the early names of the two towns and the origin of those names, and in the second place to refer to

those entries in the Saxon and other Chronicles which allude to either of them.

Chester, on the river Dee, was of the greatest importance during the time of the Roman occupation, and was effectively fortified as an advance post and stronghold whence the predatory incursions of the British or Welsh tribes beyond the border could be, and constantly were, successfully repelled. It was occupied by the twentieth Legion (Valeria Victrix), and for that reason—though it is known as Deva on the Roman Itineraries (Anton. *Iter.* XI., &c.)—the ancient British name was Caerlleon, “The City of the Legion.” The Anglo-Saxons adapted the same idea in their transformation of the name to Legaceastre. It will be observed that the letter R does not enter into the composition of that name except in the final syllable; and this is true of all its varieties, such as Leigceastre, Legeceastre, Ligcester, Leiceceastre, Liececeastre, &c.

In the *Speculum Historiale* of Richard of Cirencester (Lib. ii., cap. xv.) is a reference to the collection by Ethelfred of Northumbria of a large army “ad Civitatem Legionum quae a gente Anglorum Legacester, a Britonibus autem rectius Kaerlegion appellatur.” In the Chronicle of Abingdon, and other mediæval Chronicles, the city is constantly called “Urbs Legionum.”<sup>1</sup>

Leicester, on the river Leire, now known as the Soar, was also a Roman station of some importance under the name of Ratae (Anton. *Iter.* VI.), or Ratiscorion, and retained that importance during early Saxon times. It became, later, of much more prominent note in connection with the struggles between the Mercians and the Danes,

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<sup>1</sup> Vide, also, *Chronicle of Roger de Hoveden*, who, under the year 905, refers to “Civitas, quae Karlegion Britannicè et Legaceastre dicitur Saxonice.”

by whom alternately it was more than once occupied and fortified; and it formed one of the famous five Danish burghs of which the others were Derby, Lincoln, Stamford, and Nottingham. Owing to its site on the river Leire, it was by the Saxons called Leireceastre, which soon became developed into Leherceastre, Lihraceastre, Ligraceastre, Ligoraceastre, &c. (the two latter being probably Latinised variations), in all of which forms the letter R appears early in the name.

It appears to me more than probable that the root of the name is identical with that of the Loire (France) Lat. *Ligera* or *Ligeris*; and it may be more than a coincidence that a town near the mouth of the latter bears a name so similar to *Ratae* as *Ratiatum* (*Rezé*, Loire Inférieure).

Both Chester and Leicester were very important towns in their day, and the prosperity of both varied from time to time with the fortunes of war, but, of the two, Chester seems to have played a more important part in the history of our early periods; and this is rendered probable, if not actually proved, by the fact that a greater number of coins issued from its mint than from that of Leicester. Its exceptional position caused it, in later times, to be known by its present name. As the Bible was the *βίβλος par excellence*, so was Chester the *Ceastre* which required no farther distinguishing appellation. Another reason for its profuse coinage may be that it was not situated as was Leicester, surrounded by other mints, but, owing to its somewhat isolated position, had to supply a much larger area with the necessary currency.

There is no express reference to either Chester or Leicester in King Aethelstan's Regulation of Mints, A.D. 929, and, therefore, if either of these towns had a mint,

its moneyer must have been included in the general expression: "In aliis Castellis unus." There are large numbers of coins of Aethelstan with the name of the mint on the reverse, appearing as LEG, LEGC, LEGF, LECECE, LEGECFI, LEIE, LEIECF, LEIGE, LEIGECIF, &c. The termination C, CF, CIF, &c., is a contraction of CIFITAS, a form sometimes used on Saxon coins for CIVITAS. Chester seems always to have been denominated, as now, a city, and Leicester a town or burgh, although, so far as the ecclesiastical position of matters is concerned, Leicester was the see of a bishopric very early in the day until A.D. 874; but Chester did not become a distinct bishopric until the sixteenth century, although the Bishop of Lichfield removed his seat thither in 1075, and his successors were styled Bishops of Chester.

While upon this point, I may mention that I have searched through Mr. Walter De Gray Birch's *Cartularium Saxonicum* for references to either of the two towns, and I find that in Charter No. 355, containing the Profession of Hrethun, Bishop of Leicester, to Uulfred, Archbishop of Canterbury, circa A.D. 816, the Bishop describes himself as "ad episcopalem Legoracensis ecclesiae sedem electus;" and that in No. 440, A.D. 844, which contains the Profession of the Bishop Ceolred of Leicester to his Archbishop, he, also, is styled "electus Legoracensis civitatis," &c., thus proving my point as to the Latinised spelling of the name of that town.

In my opinion, the whole of Aethelstan's coins, bearing LEG, LEIE, or any variety of such a name upon them, and those of a similar character issued by his successor, Edmund, proceeded from the mint of Chester; and, hitherto, I have not seen or heard of any authenticated production of the mint of Leicester at this early period.

It is, therefore, more than possible that no mint was there instituted until the reign of Eadgar, when pennies of several moneyers appear with the name of the mint written LIGAR.

It may be urged that the importance of Leicester would have indicated the contrary; but this is not a conclusive test, as is proved by the fact that in the case of two other of the five burghs, viz., Stamford and Lincoln, of both of which we should have expected to have found large numbers of coins, none also appear until the reign of Eadgar. With regard to Lincoln an exception may, perhaps, be made in respect of a rude penny of Aelfred, and of two pennies of Aethelstan, which latter I have not seen, but which, from the description by Dr. Evans in his paper on Anglo-Saxon coins found in Meath (*N.C.* 3rd S. vol. v.), I am inclined to think are coins of Chester and not of Lincoln. He himself states that it is barely possible that they belong to Leicester; or rather what must be Chester, if I be successful in proving that these mints have hitherto been reversed. I cannot but think that Lincoln, so prolific a producer of coins when we are certain that it had a mint, would, if the mint had existed in Aethelstan's time, have left us as a legacy more than two pieces, of doubtful attribution, found at Meath so late only as in 1876. The two bungled pieces in the Roman hoard (*N.C.* 3rd. S. iv. p. 247), doubtfully attributed to Lincoln, are probably Danish imitations.

I am of opinion also that the pennies of Eadred, Eadwig, and Eadgar, which read LE on the reverse, are of the Chester mint, and in this I am confirmed by the late Rev. E. J. Shepherd, no mean numismatist. This gentleman was not quite justly treated in the Introduction to the Sale Catalogue of his coins, in which it is stated

that he had bequeathed to us no published records of his studies. He contributed to the York volume of the Archæological Institute in 1846 a very interesting and well-considered paper "On the Mint Marks of certain Saxon Coins which are presumed to have been struck at York," and in this paper he refers to the fact that on the reverses of the coins of the above-mentioned monarchs, instead of +BE+DA+ or some other town, will be seen OL+EO, which has been supposed to be a blunder for ON+EO, that is, On York. This he disproves, and suggests that the letters LE can only relate to the Chester Mint (the O's being really annulets), and there is no suggestion on his part that they could possibly indicate the Mint of Leicester. I had, myself, before reading his paper, attributed all such coins to Chester, and had so allocated them in my own cabinet.

In Dr. Hildebrand's work cited at the head of this paper, including the Tillägg or Supplement, the following are the numbers of coins in the various reigns attributed by him to the two mints of Chester and Leicester respectively :—

	Chester.	Leicester.
Eadgar	3	4
Eadward II.	0	1
Aethelred II.	29	101
Cnut	20	151
Harold, I.	6	89
Harthacnut	2	6
Eadward Confessor	4	20
	<hr/> 64	<hr/> 322

It would, indeed, be strange to any student of the history of the two places if it were true that the one of apparently greater importance than the other should have

issued so many less coins as is evidenced by the foregoing proportions. This point alone should have led the learned antiquary into an inquiry, the result of which would not for one moment have been doubtful ; but “ aliquando bonus dormitat Homerus,” and the marvel is that so few errors have crept into a work of such vast erudition and detail.

Ruding, except in some few instances, rightly classified the coins of the two towns, and was to some extent preceded in this by the Rev. Richard Southgate, who, in his account of the Leicester Mint written for Mr. Nichols’s history of that town, makes use of the following words :— “ In the early period of the Saxon mintage, it is difficult to distinguish the coins of Leicester from those of Chester, as the names of both were then nearly similar. In this uncertainty I have given those of LIECE, LECER, LEHER, &c., to Leicester, as Chester is generally Legeceaster, without the I or R.” If the learned author had thought less of the letter I, I should have been able to give my unqualified adhesion to his views. It will be observed that he has, on the strength of his own rule, given LIECE to Leicester, which I should give to Chester.

Kenyon, in his two editions of Hawkins’ *Silver Coins of England*, blindly follows the classification of Hildebrand in his list of mints.

It will be useful now to refer to the Saxon chronicle, and to ascertain from the actual entries therein how the names of the two towns were spelt at the time of its compilation.

In the entry for the year 894 we find that the Pagans (alias Danes), after a defeat, “ traveled night and day until they settled in a certain western<sup>2</sup> city in Wirheale,

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<sup>2</sup> I have adopted Gibson’s translation of *perþpe*. According

which was called Legaceaster (Legaceaster)." This city in the west could be none other than Chester. Wirheale, now Wirrall, was, as stated by Gibson in his Oxford edition of 1692, *in agro Cestrensi*, and this is sufficiently apparent from the entry, under the next year, to the effect that "in the following year the Pagans departed from Wirheale into North Wales (Nopð-pealar)."

Under the year 917 it is narrated that the Pagans after Easter departed on horseback from Hamtune and from Lygeraceastre (Lygepa-ceaster), and, breaking the truce, killed many men at Hocneratune and its neighbourhood.

Hamtune, in this passage, is clearly Northampton, and not Southampton, and Hocneratune is Hook-Norton, about five miles from Chipping-Norton, in Oxfordshire. It is clear, therefore, that the attack from the Danes was from Leicester, and not from Chester.

Under the year 918 (Thorpe) or 920 (Gibson) Aethelfleda reduced into possession the "buph aet Leg (or Lig)-paceaster," clearly Leicester.

Under the year 921 it is stated that the Pagans again sallied forth from Hamtune and Lygeraceastre, and thence, turning north, broke the peace and came (turning southward again, I presume) to Tofeceastre (Towcester), and, besieging that city during a whole day, and being unsuccessful, indulged in a fresh expedition during the night, and committed many depredations between Burnewuda (Bernwood Forest) and Aeglesbyrig (Aylesbury). This again fixes beyond the slightest doubt the identity of Lygeraceastre with Leicester, and further shows that

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to another translator it should be "desolated," which is confirmed by Florence of Worcester. "Civitatem Legionum tunc temporis desertam, quae Saxonice Legeceaster dicitur . . . . intrant." The probable translation might be "remote."



the Hamtune referred to here and before, was Northampton.

Under the year 941 King Eadmund is stated to have invaded Mercia, and the chronicler in substance proceeds to narrate that the five cities (*Ligopa-ceaſter*),<sup>3</sup> Lincoln, Nottingham, Stamford, and Derby, formerly belonged to the Danes until the "warlike heir of Eadward" liberated them. We have again proof to demonstration of the identity of *Ligoraceaster* with Leicester, in this account of the king's successful operations, which were similar in their nature and effect to those undertaken in earlier times by the royal Mercian Lady Aethelfleda, daughter of Aelfred the Great. In the Cottonian Manuscript, *Tiberius*, B. IV., but not in any other known manuscript of the chronicle, there is also, under the year 943, a reference to King Eadmund besetting "Wulfstan, archbishop on *Legraceastre*," *i.e.* in Leicester.

It seems scarcely necessary to say more on this head of the subject. On the facts stated it would appear beyond a doubt that the attributions of Hildebrand and Kenyon must be reversed, and that, therefore, the great bulk of our early pieces must be given to Chester, and not to Leicester.

There remain only a few words to be said concerning the probable origin of the confusion which has hitherto existed. In the first place it is, of course, patent that, without inquiry, the name of Leicester would, however erroneously, be considered identical with *LEICECEASTRE*, or any other word with similar spelling, in preference to Chester. In the second place, although in the

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<sup>3</sup> Variations in the various manuscripts: *Ligeraceaster*, *Ligeracester* and *Ligereceaster*.

Norman or Latinised forms used by the chroniclers of the Middle Ages, Chester became CESTRIA, and Leicester LEYCESTRIA, yet variations occur even in the same sentence.<sup>4</sup> For a flagrant instance of this I may refer to the chronicle of John de Oxenedes, who, under the year 1224, writes as follows: "Comes Cestriae (Chester) cum suis conspiratoribus apud Leycestriam (Leicester) festum suum tenuit;" and yet, within four or five lines afterwards, he writes, "Archiepiscopus sollempnes nuncios misit ad Legecestriam (Leicester) ad comitem Cestriae (Chester)." As our only known manuscript of this chronicle is evidently a transcript and not the original work, there may have been some mistake on the part of the transcriber; but the use of the word Legecestria in this instance is quite sufficient to mislead any one who does not examine the earlier records and authorities.

Another confusing instance arises in the *Speculum Historiale* of Richard of Cirencester, who, in spite of his nomenclature of Chester, already mentioned, refers (lib. iii. cap. xiv. *continuatio*), under the year 942, to "Lincolniam, Snotingham, Dereby, Legecestriam (clearly intending thereby, Leicester) et Stanfordiam;" and yet, in his treatise, *De Wereburgâ virgine sanctissimâ* (lib. iv. c. li. *continuatio*), writes, "Ad Legecestriam, quae nunc Cestria dicitur."

In the *Itinerarium Regis Ricardi*, the authorship of

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<sup>4</sup> In earlier times negligent mistakes happen. Instances occur in the *A.-S. Chronicle* under the year 606 where, Legaceastre, so spelt in MSS. Bodl. Laud. 636, is in the *Corpus Christi Coll.* (Cambridge) MSS. spelt Legercyestre, and under the year 972, Chester appears as Leiceastre (Cott. Tiber. B. IV.), Laegeceastre (Bodl. Laud. 636) and erroneously, as Legerceastre (Cott. Domit. A. VIII.).

which is still in doubt, Robert, Earl of Leicester, who is frequently referred to, is as often called "Comes Legecestriae" as "Comes Leicestriae."

In these more intelligent times similar mistakes occur, and to show how confusion may be created, it is worth while to see how the incidents before referred to under the year 894, in the Anglo-Saxon chronicle, are narrated by the translator of Roger of Wendover's Chronicle, in Bohn's Series. "Those who escaped the slaughter fled to Leicester (!), whose English name is Wyrhale, where they found numbers of their countrymen in a certain town, and were admitted by them into their fraternity. In the year of our Lord 896 the wicked band of pagans quitted Leicester, and made for Northumberland," &c. Independently of the mistake of Leicester for Chester, it may be asked, if the above account be founded upon fact, and referring to the difference of reading "western" or "desolated," before mentioned, how could the latter term have been applied to Chester, if numbers constituting a fraternity or otherwise already resided there?

In Norman times Chester, under William I. and II., appears on coins as well as LECES, LEHC, LECI, &c., as in the Latin form CESTRE; Leicester is still LEHR and LEHRE. Under Stephen the latter appears as LEIRE, which is important as being the exact name of the river upon which it stood. Under Henry II. Chester is CES and CEST, and Leicester LERC and LERE, the latter thus still retaining the R in its composition to the last date of any coinage in this town. During the reigns of the Edwards, Leicester had ceased to be a mint, and on the coins issued from Chester the name of the town is spelt CESTRIE.

When on the point of concluding this paper I hap-

pened to refer to the exhaustive account of the Beaworth Find of Pennies of William I. and II., published in the *Archaeologia*, vol. xxvi., by the late Mr. Hawkins, and I find that I have practically arrived at the same conclusion as that to which he had come when incidentally referring to the subject in that account, and I cannot do better than transcribe his observations as a final appendix to the views which I have expressed, and which I had formed quite independently of his. He writes as follows:—

“Collectors have long been aware of the difficulty of separating the coins of Leicester from those of Chester. This latter place being frequently, indeed generally, styled Legecester, the names so nearly approximated that, in the incorrectness and uncertainty of Saxon orthography, it was almost impossible to distinguish one from the other. An examination of the following combined list will lead to a tolerably satisfactory solution of the difficulty. There can be little doubt that the coin of VNNVLF ON LESTRE<sup>5</sup> must be referred to Chester. Now it is ascertained, upon minute inspection, that this coin has its obverse struck from the very same die as the coins of SVNOLF ON LEHL and SVNOLF ON LEHI; there will consequently be very little doubt that VNNVLF, SVNOLF, and SVNOLF are different spellings of the name of the same moneyer, and that LEHL and LEHI are both abbreviations of the name of Chester. Another coin of SVNOLF reads LELES. Seeing, then, that this Chester moneyer uses the two different abbreviations of LEHL and LELES, it will be allowed that LEHELE and LLELESTR on the coins of the moneyer IELFSI, that LEHL and LELE, with their

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<sup>5</sup> Misspelt LESTRE in Ruding, vol. i. p. 153.

variations, upon the coins of the moneyer LIFPINE, as also LEHEL and LEHELST upon those of the moneyer LIFINL, are all abbreviations of the name then generally given to the ancient city of Chester. The abbreviation LEHRE is separated by the insertion of the letter R from those which have been ascribed to Chester. It is also connected with the name of a moneyer which does not appear upon any of these coins, and it has, therefore, been considered as indicating the town of Leicester.

“Ruding, in his list of the mints of Edward the Confessor, seems to have accidentally fallen upon a somewhat similar appropriation of the coins of these two places, but his list of mints of preceding reigns proves that he had not any fixed principle of interpretation for his guide. Had he given the mints and moneyers in connexion, it is probable that some satisfactory conclusion might have been arrived at through all the reigns. At present it appears that the presence of the letter R is necessary for the certain appropriation of a coin to Leicester.”

I may add to the above that on a careful comparison of the mints and moneyers in early Saxon times, particularly on the numerous coins of Aethelred II. and Cnut, I cannot find that there is evidenced any confusion or cause for confusion between the names of the two towns, whatever their attribution may be, at the time when their mints were co-existent; and that every reasonable care seems to have been taken by the moneyers to prevent the mintage of the one being mistaken for that of the other.

H. MONTAGU.

### III.

#### PENNIES OF WILLIAM I. AND WILLIAM II.

THE discovery of a large hoard of coins at Beaworth, in 1833, gave rise at that time to a discussion about the arrangement of the various types of the pennies of the two Williams, and the respective attribution of each variety. A fair summary of the question is to be found in Hawkins' *Silver Coins of England*, a reference to which will show that the conclusion arrived at by numismatists was not unanimous, but that the attribution of the various pieces had to be "left to the decision of individual collectors." Constant reference to Mr. Hawkins' standard work has since gained for his arrangement of the coins, and for the distribution he suggested, almost universal acceptance.

The key to the whole question is the date of the "Pax" pennies and their position in the series. These were assigned by Mr. Hawkins to William I., while Mr. Lindsay and Mr. Bergne preferred to attribute them to William II. In defence of the position he had taken up, Mr. Hawkins made a careful analysis of the moneyers whose names occurred on the Pax pennies, and showed what proportion of these moneyers struck coins of the types immediately preceding and following that type. In reply it was proved that the facts, as tabulated by Mr. Hawkins, might be quoted against his own theory; and it was also pointed out that the examination of a larger

number of coins might lead to an entirely different conclusion.

With regard to the word PAX, there were several occasions during the reign of the Conqueror when it might have been adopted, and each of these occasions would, in turn, be deemed important. But it is not improbable that many great events, which might have suggested the use of this word, may have been passed over; while it may have been employed to commemorate some less noteworthy incident. The word betokens that the king who used it was under ecclesiastical influence, possibly that of Lanfranc. It has, therefore, been supposed that William I., who had chosen Lanfranc for his adviser, must have been persuaded by the Archbishop to stamp this word on his coins. But if William I. owed much to Lanfranc, William II. was even more indebted to him. It was mainly through the policy of the Archbishop that Rufus succeeded to the crown of England without a struggle. Why then should not the word PAX have been used by William II. in the beginning of his reign, to emphasize his peaceful accession to the throne? The objection that William I. was more wealthy than his son, and that we should therefore expect his coins to be more plentiful than those of William II., is one of the reasons which has predisposed many numismatists to assign the common Pax pennies to the Conqueror. But, if we bear in mind the fact that by far the larger number of these coins hitherto discovered were found at one time, in a hoard of a very peculiar kind, we need no longer hesitate to attribute them to William II. because they are now so common. Their preservation is evidently due to chance, as the presence of only one specimen in the Shillington find would suggest. Before the year 1833

these Pax pennies were exceedingly rare, and not nearly so numerous as was the earliest type of the Conqueror's money. Mr. Sainthill's theory, that the Beaworth find was a part of the king's seignorage on coins of the Pax type, together with the payment due on a few previous coinages not accounted for to the king's receiver, is the most probable explanation of the abundance of the Pax pennies in that hoard. This suggestion will also account for the remarkable state of preservation of the Beaworth coins, nearly all being as fresh as from the die.

It will not be necessary to give a minute description of the various types of the coins of these kings, as all are figured in Hawkins' *Silver Coins of England*. After making some alteration in the order adopted in that book, we can then consider at what point in the series the accession of William II. took place.

Some method or system must have been followed in the striking of this group of coins. It is not likely that the first coin had the king's bust to the left, the second a full-faced bust, while on the third the original obverse design reappeared. Each new modification must have been based on, and developed out of, the type previously in use; and the pieces should be so arranged that any new features are introduced as gradually as possible. The application of these general principles would seem to point to the order given below, as that in which the coins were issued.

- I. (Hks. 238.) The obverse of this piece bears a close resemblance to the coins of Harold II., except that the legend on the penny of William is interrupted by the king's bust which reaches to the edge of the coin. The bust of the king looks to the left, as on the usual type of Harold's pennies.
- II. (Hks. 235.) A similar obverse, with a slightly varied reverse.



After the two coins with bust to the left, follow two with the full-faced bust.

III. (Hks. 234.) Bonnet type.

IV. (Hks. 236.) Canopy type.

All the preceding are without any inner circle on the obverse. They are followed by two varieties on which the bust of the king with full face is entirely contained within the inner circle, the obverse legend being continued all round the coin.

V. (Hks. 237.) A sceptre at each side of the king's bust.

VI. (Hks. 238.) A star at each side of the king's bust.

On all the preceding coins the king's name is generally spelt *ƿILLEMVS* or *ƿILLEM*; but on all subsequent types an *L* is inserted before the final *M*, and the name appears as *ƿILLELM*. The obverse legend on all the following pieces is again interrupted by the king's bust, which is continued down to the edge of the coin. On the five types which come next, the king wields a sword, which is afterwards exchanged for a sceptre.

VII. (Hks. 243.) Bust of the king, with full face, holding in his right hand a sword which rests on his right shoulder. The reverse, a cross patée over a floral cross, is not very unlike the reverse on type VI. These pieces are more carefully struck, and are neater than many of the Pax pennies. The absence of this variety from the Shilling-ton and Tamworth hoards is not easily accounted for if it be placed after the Pax pennies; unless it be granted that those pennies were less numerous than were coins of this type.

VIII. (Hks. 247.) Similar to the preceding, but rather coarse work. By this time the Saxon moneyers, who were employed before the Conquest, were gradually dying out, and their places were being filled by less skilful Norman workmen.

IX. (Hks. 246.) Similar obverse: *rev.*, a cross patée within a quatrefoil.

By both the Shillington and Tamworth hoards, this variety is closely connected with the Pax type; but the law of evolution makes it impossible to place these two varieties side by side. It will be noticed that the reverse of the Pax type, and also the reverse of this type, are both joined to two different obverses; showing that these reverses were used in periods of transition, when a change was made in the position of the king's bust. But from the first introduction of the full face, with the bonnet type, we have had up to this point an unbroken series of coins with the full face, leading on to the pennies in which the king holds a drawn sword resting on his right shoulder. It has, therefore, been impossible to insert the Pax pennies earlier in the series; and it is equally impossible to find a place for them here, as the reverse of the next type is the exact counterpart of the reverse of this coin.

- X. (Hks. 245.) The king's bust to the right, in his right hand a drawn sword held before his face. The reverse, as has been stated, is exactly like that on the previous coin. Some specimens of this variety were found at Tamworth together with some Pax pennies; and the coins in that hoard belong neither to the earliest nor to the latest type of the pennies of the two Williams.
- XI. (Hks. 244.) Obverse, as above, king's bust to the left, with a drawn sword in his right hand: *rev.*, a cross patée upon a floreated cross. Some specimens of this rare type were found at Shillington, together with some coins of type IX. and one Pax penny.
- XII. (Hks. 239.) The king's bust to the left, with a sceptre instead of a sword in his right hand: *rev.*, a cross patée with a floral ornament projecting from the inner circle in each quarter.
- XIII. (Hks. 240.) Obverse, like the preceding; with reverse of the common Pax type. After these four coins with the king's bust looking to the right, the type with the full face is re-introduced.

- XIV. (Hks. 241, 242.) The common Pax type, the latest variety found in the Tamworth hoard.
- XV. (Hks. 248.) The king's bust with full face, a sceptre on his right and a star on his left. The sceptre helps to connect this with the Pax type, although the workmanship is inferior.
- XVI. (Hks. 249.) King's bust with full face, without either sword or sceptre. This and the next piece are of much coarser work than any other coins of this series, and are rightly placed late in the reign of William Rufus.
- XVII. (Hks. 250.) This differs from the piece above in having two stars hanging as tassels from the crown.

It is difficult to make the evidence afforded by the development of type harmonize entirely with that of the hoards discovered. But at all events the difficulties to be overcome in this respect are not any greater, according to the new order, than are those which need explanation under the old system. Taking a comprehensive view of the points of connection in the series, it will be noticed that, if the pennies be placed as proposed: first we have two with bust to the left, next seven with the full face, then four with bust to the right, and last, four with the full face. Again it will be remarked that all coins without an inner circle on the obverse are placed together; and the group with the drawn sword in the king's right hand, and the rather larger group with a cross patée on the reverse, remain unbroken by the suggested revision.

Hoards of these coins have been found at Beaworth, in Hampshire, in 1833; at Shillington, in Bedfordshire, in 1871; at Tamworth, in Warwickshire, in 1877; and a few early pieces were discovered among the pennies of Edward the Confessor, found in the City of London in 1872.

The Beaworth find contained only five varieties, types VI., VII., XII., XIII., XIV. While according to the

order generally adopted the coins follow consecutively, there is a gap of four types if we adopt the new arrangement. At first this omission would appear to be a sufficient reason for rejecting the new order; but, when examined, the break in the series will be found not to be so serious as might have been supposed. Of the four missing types (VIII. to XI.) only one (type IX., Hks. 246) is at all plentiful; and even that variety is somewhat scarcer than are types VI. and VII. Moreover it should not be forgotten that out of the 6,000 coins described, only about 100 were of other than the Pax type.

At Shillington about 250 coins of the two Williams were found, together with a few pennies of Henry I. This hoard does not present an unbroken series of types according to either arrangement. The coins bearing the name of William were of types IX., XI., XIV. (one coin only), and XVII. The least scarce of the intermediate pieces not represented is type XV. (Hks. 248), a by no means common variety. The presence of only one Pax coin suggests that these pennies were not in such general use at that time as we might have supposed, judging by the number already discovered. The absence of type VII. (Hks. 243) is remarkable. It is not a very rare type, and it might have been expected that a few specimens would have occurred in the Shillington find, if this type were issued after the Pax pieces.

Among the 2,000 coins of Edward the Confessor found in the City of London, were five pennies of the Conqueror, of types III. and V. (Hks. 234 and 237), showing that these varieties were struck early in his reign.

At Tamworth 294 coins, bearing the name of William, were discovered. They were of types IX., X., XI.,

and XIV. Mr. Keary, in his description of this find (*Num. Chron.*, N. S., Second Series, vol. xvii.) says he cannot agree to assign type IX. (Hks. 246) to William I., and the others to William II., as is commonly done. This hoard suggests, as does the Shillington hoard also, that types VII. and IX. (Hks. 243 and 246) should be placed earlier than Mr. Hawkins was inclined to think: but it must not be overlooked that his theory was based almost entirely on the evidence of the great find at Beaworth.

The re-arrangement of the coins is an easier matter than the decision of the exact point in the series where the coins of William I. end and those of William II. begin. As the Conqueror reigned nearly twice as long as his son, we might expect his types to be nearly twice as numerous as those of William II. A surmise of this kind would seem to have influenced the late Mr. Hawkins when he attempted to determine what coins should be assigned to each king respectively. On this point we have nothing to guide us, and must, therefore, act on induction. Perhaps we shall not be far wrong in attributing to the Conqueror the first eleven, and to Rufus the last six varieties. By this division, all those in which the king is represented wielding the drawn sword are coins of the Conqueror. May not the unsheathed sword be a token of his determination to suppress the revolt of the barons under Roger Fitz-Osborn, Ralph de Guader, and Bishop Odo? In contrast with his father, Rufus appears as the peaceful king, holding a sceptre, the word Pax being introduced as an after-thought, embodying the same idea.

This word Pax had been imprinted on English money by Cnut and all his successors, the letters P.Æ.D.X. being generally disposed in the angles of a long cross. But

just before the Confessor's death, and throughout the brief reign of Harold, the word Pax was stamped across the reverse. To have revived this latter type would have perpetuated the memory of Harold, whom the Normans execrated as a perjured usurper. They preferred rather to adopt an arrangement of letters which might be a tribute to Edward the Confessor, whom they revered because he had bequeathed the crown of England to the Conqueror. If this were the case, the two first types of the pennies of Rufus were quickly superseded by the ordinary Pax type, which must have been introduced very soon after his accession. And, as the enormous wealth left in the royal treasury by the Conqueror may have been in bullion, the common Pax pennies were probably struck from the silver which had been stored up during the previous reign.

G. F. CROWTHER.

## IV.

### SOME NOTES ON THE COINS OF HENRY VII.

THE importance of the reign of Henry VII. as a transition period is as marked in the coinage as in legal and constitutional history. The great development in the design of the coins between the beginning and end of the reign is, of course, noticeable by every one; but it is to the central portion, from 1489 to 1504, which includes the issue of the four types of sovereigns, that the interest is mainly confined.

As regards the order of mint marks on the ordinary angels and groats, an examination of a paper by Dr. Evans on a find of gold coins near St. Albans in *Num. Chron.*, 3rd series, vi. 174, and of the two by Mr. Crowther on the groats of this period, which have appeared more recently in the *Chronicle*, with also Hawkins and Kenyon, gives the following general results:—

ANGELS.	GROATS.
First type.	Open crown.
Mint Marks (Evans and Kenyon).	Mint Marks (Crowther and Hawkins).
<i>Rose</i> (or no m.m.) . . . .	<i>Rose</i> .
<i>Lis on rose</i> . . . .	<i>Lis on rose</i> .
	<i>Cross fitchée</i> , or plain cross.
	Arched crown.
	<i>Trefoil</i> (or no m.m.).
<i>Cinquefoil</i> (trefoils in legend) . .	<i>Cinquefoil</i> (trefoils in legend).

ANGELS.	GROATS (continued).
Second type.	
<i>Escallop</i> (rosettes)	<i>Escallop</i> (trefoils or rosettes).
<i>Cinquefoil</i> , rudely shaped (rosettes or crosses)	<i>Cinquefoil</i> , rudely shaped (rosettes or crosses).
	<i>Leopard's head</i> crowned.
<i>Lis on half rose</i>	<i>Lis on half rose</i> .
<i>Anchor</i>	<i>Anchor</i> .
	<i>Rose</i> .
<i>Greyhound's head</i>	<i>Greyhound's head</i> .
<i>Cross crosslet</i>	<i>Cross crosslet</i> .

I will not set my opinion against Mr. Crowther's as to whether the later rudely-shaped cinquefoils with rosettes or crosses are to be taken as two separate marks or as one; or whether, if separate, the lis on half rose and leopard's head come between them; but they are clearly distinct from the earlier cinquefoil with trefoils and the plain arched crown. This, as well as the position of the escallop, is shown by the testimony of the angels.

The above comparison raises two points for notice: the first is with regard to the mint marks (so called). In number and variety they show a great increase when compared with those of the reign of Edward IV.; yet they are still far removed from anything like the annual change which is found established by the time of Elizabeth, though too numerous to square with the number of mint indentures.

They must, I would suggest, be taken as referring to the dies rather than the coins; as gravers' rather than mint marks proper, each mark characterizing a particular set of dies engraved and delivered on one occasion. This is much in accordance with an opinion expressed by the



late Archdeacon Pownall (*Num. Chron.*, N.S., vi. 139), that each m.m. marked one delivery, while the minor privy marks were signs of separation required, with the tri-monthly pyx trial, to supplement the differences preserved by these chief marks. The practice of the French mints with regard to the "point secret" and the other "différents"<sup>1</sup> is also in favour of the smaller marks being those which were placed more particularly for mint purposes on the coins themselves. Such small marks are to be found in the variations of trefoils, quatrefoils, rosettes, crosses, pellets, &c., in the legend or the field, and in their number and disposition. Thus Dr. Evans's list has some fifteen specimens of escallop and cinquefoil angels all differing in this respect as regards the rosettes or crosses on the obverse and reverse. It is obviously in accordance with their object that mint distinctions should be neither prominent nor conspicuous, and in some cases the difference is so slight that the alteration could have been made on a die already in use. There are escallop groats with trefoils instead of the usual rosettes in the legend, and the arch on the king's breast not fleured. In this case the trefoils could be converted into rosettes, and the arch on the breast fleured on the die while in use; and it seems to me quite likely that this was what was done in order to make a distinction required at the

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<sup>1</sup> The "point secret" was a pellet placed under a certain letter of the legend, which marked the place of mintage.

"Le différent est une petite marque que les tailleurs particuliers et les maîtres des monnoies choisissent à leur fantaisie, comme un soleil, une rose, une étoile, un croissant. Elle ne peut être changée que par l'ordre de la cour des monnoies ou des juges gardes. Elle se change nécessairement à la mort des tailleurs et des maîtres ou quand il y a des nouveaux juges gardes ou essayeurs."—*Encyclop. Méthodique, Arts et Métiers Mécaniques*. Tom. v. Art. "Monnoies," p. 170.

time by the mint. The form of the differentiating stops in the legend is generally peculiar to each principal mark ; but the escallop occurs with trefoils as well as rosettes, and the later cinquefoil and one or two others with rosettes as well as crosses. Each has generally a characteristic form of legend, though the abbreviations vary on each individual die.

The style and form of the letters are also peculiar to each, and an examination of the coins will show that the legend must have been stamped into the die letter by letter, and not regularly engraved thereon.<sup>2</sup> Lastly, while a gradual modification of the type can be traced through the period as a whole, it remains constant for any given m.m. Either then, if, as a high authority supposes, the engravers were constantly at work and the dies prepared as needed, the m.m. indicated a pattern which was copied for a certain period ; or all dies bearing the same m.m. would seem to have been executed under some one authority at one time : and this theory is supported by two notes of writs relating to the mint at Calais, given in the *Acts of Privy Council*, temp. Henry VI. The first commands the keeper of the mint there to receive from the engraver of the irons 350 crosses and piles for grosses, 60 crosses and piles for demi-grosses, 30 d°. for pennies, and 60 d°. for mailles and ferlings of silver.<sup>3</sup> The second orders him in like manner to receive from the engraver 12 piles and 96 crosses for grosses, 3 piles and 12 crosses for demi-grosses, 3 piles and 12 crosses for pennies, 3 piles and 12 crosses for mailles, and 3 piles and 12 crosses for ferlings.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> See also Mr. Cochran-Patrick's *Records of the Coinage of Scotland*, Introd. pp. xvii., l., cxx. The "letters of graving" are spoken of as distinct from the coining irons.

<sup>3</sup> *Acts of P. C.*, vol. iv. p. 806 ; 14 Henry VI. (1435).

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. v. p. 180 ; 19 Henry VI. (1440).

Here the numbers quoted, especially for groats, make it impossible to suppose that the irons were all used at once; some must have been left over and brought into use afterwards as occasion required. Still, however, the number employed at a time must have been large, especially with the work of the London Mint; and, when we consider this, and the labour of engraving, everything being done by hand, it is improbable that, except for some grave reason, a whole set should be discarded all at once; some clearly would last longer than others, and their duration would vary with the amount of work done with them. Thus not only might two consecutive marks be found at the same time among the irons in use, but also there might well be slight variations in the individual specimens, and some might even be left over after a set had been generally discarded and be used again accidentally at a later period. Again, occasionally special requirements such as an unexpected failure of irons or a large issue of a particular class of coins, would necessitate the engraving of some additional dies besides the sets then in use. Such dies would be distinguished from the rest either by the absence of the regular mark or by a special one. An instance of this seems to me to be afforded in the above list by such a mark as the leopard's head crowned. This does not occur on the gold and only rarely on the silver, and may indicate a few dies specially engraved to meet an unusually large coinage of silver. It is plainly just the assay mark of the Goldsmiths' Company, who were intimately connected with the die engraving as well as the other working departments of the mint, and would naturally be likely to use it as a distinction on such an occasion.

Such an explanation as this would, I think, allow of

the contemporaneous use of these marks which evidently sometimes occurred, and also meet various anomalies which occur with regard to them on coins; and would show that though in general they are a good guide to the course of a coinage, undue importance must not be given for such a purpose to every peculiar diversity in each specimen.

The other point for remark is that the change in the type of the groats and of the angels did not take place at the same time. The mark, heraldic cinquefoil, first appears on the early groats with the arched crown, which seems to have been introduced at the time of the commission to Lord Daubeney and Bartholomew Rede to make sovereigns, dated October 28th, 1489, and which was probably adopted to be in conformity with that on the gold coin then struck. But there are angels of the first type with this m.m., and the change in their case does not take place till the coming in of the m.m. escallop, being marked by the peculiar transitional coins with the TRANSIENS legend, one of which has a first type obverse with m.m. cinquefoil and a second type reverse with m.m. escallop. A consideration of the number of m.ms. and the length of the period give an average of two or three years for the prevalence of each one; and this time naturally brings us to the date of the Mint indenture of November 20th, 1492, for the establishment of the new type of angel. The peculiarities of the escallop coins, the forms of the lettering, and a certain roughness of execution combined sometimes with elaborate details are well known, and seem to show new, possibly even foreign, influence in the engraving department; and I hazard the suggestion that the adoption of the emblem of the patron saint of Spain had reference to an event of the previous winter which had caused a stir through Western Europe, and particu-

larly England, when it was announced in the spring, namely, the capture of Granada. We are told in notable language how that "this action, in itself so worthy, King Ferdinando (whose manner was never to lose any virtue for the showing) had expressed and displayed in his letters at large, with all the particularities and religious punctos and ceremonies that were observed in the reception of that city and kingdom;" how that "he would not enter the city till he had proclaimed that he did acknowledge to have received that kingdom by the help of God Almighty, and the glorious Virgin, and the virtuous Apostle, St. James," &c., &c.; that "these things were in the letters with many more ceremonies of a kind of holy ostentation;" and that "the King, ever willing to put himself into the consort or quire of all religious actions, and naturally affecting much the King of Spain (as far as one king can affect another) partly for his virtues and partly as an equipoise to France," celebrated the event by a solemn thanksgiving service at St. Paul's. The grounds of Henry's affection for Ferdinand would not be diminished in the course of the next few months. But whether the scallop is thus to be explained or not, I must dissent from the theory that at this period a new mark like this was chosen at random merely for the sake of distinction, and had no meaning or significance to those who chose it. This may well have been the case in the comparatively modern days of Elizabeth, but the age of Henry VII. was an age of universal badges and emblems, heraldic and other; and it would be, I think, quite contrary to the spirit of the age for a man to select a mark and use it merely for distinction without any reference to the associations connected with it.

Dr. Evans's explanation of most mint-marks of these

centuries, as heraldic charges or differences borne by some one in authority, hardly seems to me, with great deference, to meet the case. This may be true enough of the base coinages of Henry VIII. and Edward VI., but their period was one of innovation and change in many matters, and its usages can scarcely explain those of earlier times. The m.m.'s of the fifteenth century, whether heraldic, badges, or rebuses, always seem to refer to the prince or prelate under whom the coins were struck, and not to a subordinate.

Again, all those of Henry VII., except the escallop and anchor, can be explained, like those of both his predecessors, as badges referring in some way to his position, descent, fortunes, &c.: and it would therefore be reasonable to suppose that these two, like the rest, admit of a similar explanation from his history or interests.

With regard to the anchor, the order of m.m.'s would place its adoption as about the years 1496—8. It is a conspicuous mark on the not very much earlier seal of Richard of Gloucester as Lord High Admiral; and it is at least noticeable, till a better explanation is given, that it was just at this period that Henry's attention was chiefly turned to maritime discovery and colonization, and to the regular organization of a navy.<sup>5</sup>

Turning to the sovereigns, I must number the four types according to their order in Mr. Kenyon's book.

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<sup>5</sup> I need only refer to the discoveries of John Cabot, and the patents of 5 Mar., 1496, and 3 Feb., 1498, authorising him to sail under the king's banners, and to exercise jurisdiction and to colonise in the king's name.

The entry 13 Mar., 1496, in the *Privy Purse Expenses*, of the payment of £100 to "the clerks of the shippes," for the conveying of "the Soverayn" to Southampton, is the earliest notice, I believe, of anything like a Board of Naval Administration.

With the exception of No. 1, which has the m.m. cinquefoil with trefoils, they appear quite unconnected as to m.m. with the rest of the coinage. It has been long ago noticed that they must have been issued in limited quantities and, like coronation medals, to mark certain special occasions. I will try to point out what these occasions may have been.

No. 1, then, would seem to have been struck, under the patent to Lord Daubeney and Bartholomew Rede, dated October 28th, 1489, in view of a great State ceremonial which took place a month later at Westminster, when on St. Andrew's Day the king's eldest son, Prince Arthur, was made a Knight of the Bath and created Prince of Wales in the presence of a great assemblage of lords and knights, and his eldest daughter, Princess Margaret, was christened. Such an occasion, with the opportunities for what the herald, who describes it with great detail, calls "*largesse*,"<sup>6</sup> appears to me to have been eminently one for the distribution of the splendid new coins, and I cannot but think that they were designed in prospect of it.

It is to the time of the indenture with B. Rede and John Shaw, dated November 20th, 1492, that we must attribute sovereign No. 2 with its half, the very rare ryal, which is evidently, by m.m. and workmanship, of the same issue. The political situation at that date is well known. After much preparation, much swagger, and much taxation, Henry, though he had already privately arranged for peace, had crossed over with his army at the beginning of October on his invasion of France and besieged Boulogne. Within a month he had made peace at Étapes and had agreed, like Edward IV. before him, to waive his claim to the French kingdom for an

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<sup>6</sup> See MS. Cot. Jul. B. XII.

adequate pension (or tribute) amounting in all to 745,000 crowns. Though it was probably for their ultimate benefit that there should be no war, this peace with dishonour was not popular with his subjects, who had been taxed so heavily, and had now got nothing for it, not even glory. "They stuck not to say," says Bacon, "that the king cared not to plume his nobility and people to feather himself." Henry was aware of this, and wrote a letter to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen "half bragging what great sums he had obtained for the peace," which was read publicly in the Guildhall on November 9th. Englishmen of the fifteenth century had not yet come to consider complacently the title of King of France as a mere empty addition to their sovereign's style; and in the face of their discontent the king must have been anxious, not only to magnify his triumph, but also to emphasize at every opportunity the shadowy theory that the lawful king of France was merely receiving tribute from the existing ruler of that country, and we are not without evidence that this view of the matter found some popular acceptance. At the same time, inglorious though the expedition might seem, the peace of Étaples completed the success of Henry's diplomacy, and left him in the possession of a foremost position in the politics of Europe. It was, therefore, natural as well as advisable for him to mark the occasion by a fresh issue of festival coins, which, (perhaps because the general public were more than usually concerned) seems to have been on a less limited scale and comprised ryals as well as sovereigns, both prominently marked with the fleur de lys of France by way of vindicating Henry's claim.

Leake, indeed, supposed that the ryal with the French arms was struck abroad at the siege of Boulogne, but it



is hardly likely that its place of mintage should have been separate from that of the sovereign which bears the same mint mark. Besides, there seems to be no reason why dies should be specially engraved and a peculiar coin struck in a camp during an uneventful siege lasting less than a month, and the neighbouring mint at Calais had long ceased working. Mr. Montagu, however, agrees with Leake, and thinks that though the dies were made in London, the coin was actually struck abroad, especially as it seems from two Dutch placards of the seventeenth century to have been commonly current in Flanders; or even that it may have been specially struck in London for the use of the French expedition. Still the French arms must, I think, be merely taken as a piece of bravado which, under the circumstances, it was worth Henry's while to assume, and not worth Charles's to resent.

On both sovereigns, No. 1 and No. 2, the king's head has the hair in heavy rolls corresponding with the arched crown groats with the heraldic cinquefoil and escallop mint marks; but when we look at No. 3 and No. 4 we find, in the first place, that the long hair on each side the head connects them with the later issues of the arched crown groats; next, that the fact of one reverse being common to both of them brings them near together in date of issue; and thirdly, that if Mr. Kenyon's order is right, No. 4 would appear to be merely No. 3 altered to meet the requirements of Stat. 19 Henry VII., c. 5, passed in January, 1504. This statute provided *inter alia* that "all manner of gold thereafter to be coined should have the whole scripture about every piece of the same gold without lacking of any part thereof, to the intent that the king's subjects thereafter might have perfect

knowledge by that circle or scripture when the same coins were clipped or impaired."

On this supposition No. 3 was struck before, and No. 4 after, January, 19 Henry VII. (1504), and no long period separated them. With the date thus limited, it does not seem unreasonable to assign the issue of No. 3 to the celebration of the marriage of Arthur, Prince of Wales, and Katharine of Arragon, on November 14th, 1501, 17 Henry VII.; and that of No. 4 to the creation, after Arthur's death, of the king's second son, Henry, as Prince of Wales, which took place at the end of that very parliament, namely on February 23rd, 19 Henry VII. (1504).<sup>7</sup>

But Dr. Evans considers that No. 3 comes, both in type and legend, nearer to those of Henry VIII., while No. 4 has the peculiar E's with an inverted cusp, which are found on the escallop coins. I scarcely think that this last argument is conclusive, as I have an angel with a similar peculiarity in the G's, which are like an half-finished 8, 6, and which has the admittedly late m.m. pheon. Still accepting the correction, the two coins may either be transposed in allotting them to these ceremonies, or, if it should appear impossible that No. 3 could be struck after the statute, No. 4 may be given to the earlier creation of Henry as Duke of York on All Saints' day, 1494.

These events, especially the creations and marriage of the Prince of Wales, were the occasions in the reign

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<sup>7</sup> There has been some confusion as to this date and year as Henry seems to be spoken of as Prince of Wales in some negotiations with Spain in the autumn of 1503, but the actual creation is fixed to February in the 19th year (1504) by the *Rolls of Parliament* (vi. 532), and also an entry in the *Privy Purse Expenses*, *Excerpta Historica*, p. 131.

most specially fitted for a display of state ceremonial and magnificence, and the endeavour to allot an issue of these special coins to them will not, I hope, be thought wholly unwarrantable from the slight indications as to date which seem to be in its favour on the coins themselves.

Who was the engraver who executed these coins is a question which is still in obscurity. The only engraver to the mint mentioned by Ruding is Nicholas Flynt, a goldsmith of London, but the Patent Roll shows that he was superseded as early as August 23rd, 1489, when he received compensation for the loss of the office of engraver to the mint, &c., which the king had disposed of otherwise since granting them to him for his life.

This may be explained by another grant on the Roll dated May 26th, 1488, subsequent to the original grant to Nicholas, of the same offices to Michael Flynt (probably his son) during the king's pleasure; or it may refer to a completely fresh appointment; but the present indexes to the Roll give no further information.

It is possible, then, that sovereign No. 1 is to be attributed to Michael Flynt. In this and in the first arched-crowned groats there is no real advance in art; there is the same stiffness and conventionality of the head (with the mere difference of the arched crown) as in the earlier coinage, while the contemporary angels remain exactly the same. But with the later issues the gradual progress is remarkable. There is a great improvement in the design of the second type of angels, and the corresponding escallop groats are noticeable for their extreme decoration. Sovereign No. 2 also has the throned figure somewhat less stiff, and appears to me rather more decorated in its details than No. 1.

From this time, 1492, forward, though the type of the

angels remains the same, the conventional crowned head on the groats slowly develops more and more into some sort of a likeness of the king, resulting at last in the artistic side-face portrait of 1504, while sovereigns No. 3 and No. 4 cannot be surpassed by any coins for beauty and elaborateness of decoration. In them, what may have been intended for a rough representation of the coronation chair on No. 1 has developed into a gorgeous throne, and the field, instead of being chequered, is, more artistically, merely strewn with fleur de lys. No. 4 is possibly somewhat inferior to No. 3, as it is necessarily more cramped in design; the lettering also and the execution are rougher, reminding one in this respect of the escallop coins.

The occasional variety in execution and lettering here exemplified is another obscure point in the coinage of the reign which needs explanation. Besides the well-known E's and M's generally on the escallop coins, sovereign Nos. 1 and 2 have a remarkable form of A in the legends, while on the reverse of the others the M appears again, and the obverse of No. 4 has letters of a rough, almost Roman, form quite peculiar to it.

On these two subjects I trust that others may be able now or hereafter to throw some light if they turn their attention to the period. That the suggestions which I have previously made may lead them to do so is, perhaps, my only justification for thus putting these forward.

A. E. PACKE.

## V.

### NOTES ON GUPTA COINS.

(See Pl. II.)

THE admirable essay of Mr. Vincent Smith on *The Coinage of the Early or Imperial Gupta Dynasty of Northern India* (*Jour. R.A.S.*, 1889, Part I.) will probably remain the standard work on the subject for some considerable time to come. As it has not hitherto been noticed as it deserves in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, it has been thought fitting to take the present opportunity of passing the whole work in review and of suggesting such additions as result from the examination of noteworthy specimens submitted from time to time to the British Museum, and from a more detailed examination of the Bodleian collection than Mr. Smith was able to make in the time at his disposal. My best thanks are due to Bodley's librarian, Mr. E. B. Nicholson, and to Dr. Neubauer, who spared no pains to afford me every facility in examining the coins under their care. Among private collections which I have seen, that of Mr. Wilmot Lane has afforded more new varieties than any other.

Since the publication of Mr. Smith's essay, and of Mr. Fleet's great work on the Gupta inscriptions (vol. iii. of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*), our knowledge of this dynasty has been extended by the discovery of an inscribed seal of Kumāra Gupta II., an electrotpe of

which has been presented to the British Museum by Dr. Hoernlé. This seal has been published by Mr. Smith and Dr. Hoernlé in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (vol. lviii., Part I., No. 2). It affords a genealogy of nine members of the family in direct descent from father to son, beginning with the founder and ending with a second Kumāra Gupta. This list suggests a variety of problems which cannot yet be fully solved. The genealogies previously known gave us seven names in direct descent, ending with Skanda Gupta, son of Kumāra Gupta. The inscription on the seal omits all mention of Skanda Gupta, and gives as the son, grandson, and great-grandson respectively of Kumāra Gupta I., Pura Gupta, Narasiṃha Gupta, and Kumāra Gupta II. Dr. Hoernlé, after a thorough discussion of the question, comes to the conclusion that, in all probability, Skanda Gupta, dying without issue, was succeeded by his brother, Pura Gupta. It is well known that records of the kind are genealogical tables rather than dynastic lists, and that rulers who are not in direct descent are often passed over without mention. Instances of this may be quoted from the tables of the Western Kshatrapas, *e.g.* the inscription of Rudrasimha, son of Rudradāman (published by Dr. Bühler in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. x. p. 157), in which no mention is made of Dāmazaḍa and Jivadāman, the brother and nephew of Rudrasimha, who are known, from the dates on their coins, to have been his predecessors. Bearing this fact in mind, we may find a possible explanation of the mysterious "Kācha" coins, which were formerly attributed to Ghaṭotkacha, and which Mr. Smith now doubtfully assigns to Samudra Gupta. Mr. Fleet has proved beyond doubt that the coins bearing this name were certainly not struck by Ghaṭotkacha; but there are,

on the other hand, difficulties in the way of the suggested identification of him with Samudra Gupta. It is at least a plausible conjecture that he was the brother and predecessor of Samudra Gupta. The reverse type of his coins—the standing goddess—connects them with those which Mr. Smith has with good reason supposed to be the earliest struck by Samudra Gupta—the “Tiger” and “Açva-medha” types (see Smith, p. 65). In Indian families the grandson was very commonly named after the grandfather, and the name Kācha, although a well-known Indian name, might also have been suggested by a reminiscence of Ghaṭotkacha, which seems to be a *vox nihili*, and which was probably some foreign, perhaps Indo-Scythic, name Sanskritised. In any case, if Kācha was one of the Gupta sovereigns and distinct from Samudra Gupta, his reign must have been very short. The coins bearing the name are all of one type, and the non-occurrence of the name on inscriptions could scarcely be otherwise explained.

Further inferences drawn by Dr. Hoernlé from the evidence of the inscribed seal refer to the heavy coins of rude fabric and impure gold, the attribution of which has never been satisfactorily determined. Nara “Bālāditya” (Smith, p. 117) is probably identical with Narasiṃha Gupta. The heavy coins bearing the name Kumāra and the title Kramāditya (Archer type, class  $\beta$ , see Smith, p. 97), supposed by Sir A. Cunningham and Mr. Smith to have been struck by Kumāra Gupta, of Magadha, are more fittingly attributed to Kumāra Gupta II., while the king, whose name has not yet been read on the coins, but who bears the title Prakāṣāditya, *may* perhaps be the Pura Gupta of the seal. Other names occurring on these heavy coins cannot yet be attributed with any probability,

but Dr. Hoernlé's essay and his useful *Synchronistic Table of the Reigns of the Early Guptas and their Contemporaries and Immediate Successors* show to what extent the study of inscriptions and coins has already thrown light on what a few years ago was, historically, "Darkest India."

No further clue has been discovered to the meaning of the "monogrammatic emblems" which occur on the great majority of Gupta coins. Mr. Smith's conjecture that they have "a religious or mythological significance" is probably near the truth. The same may be said of the emblems occurring on the coins of the Indo-Scythic kings—Kanishka, Huvishka, and Vasudeva<sup>1</sup>—with this difference, that the variety employed by the Guptas is much greater, and that all the members of the dynasty seem to have used these emblems indiscriminately. In describing these monogrammatic emblems in the following pages, reference is made to Mr. Smith's classification (see his Pl. V.).

The decipherment of the coin legends is still, in many instances, unsatisfactory and incomplete, although a knowledge of the regular formulæ found on the stone inscriptions has greatly aided in the restoration of fragmentary coin legends. It is doubtful if much more can be gained from the further examination of specimens already known, and, unfortunately, new specimens, in nine cases out of ten, contribute little or nothing fresh. Coins of the same

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<sup>1</sup> It is high time that a protest were made against the continued use of the monstrous appellations "Kanerkes," "Hooerkes," and "Bazodeo." The proper Indian names of these monarchs are perfectly well known, and there is no excuse for the use of the barbarous Graecised forms, which are due to the consonantal poverty of the Greek alphabet.



type present, as a rule, similar defects, and it is usually only the exceptional specimen which adds to our knowledge.

### CHANDRA GUPTA I.

KING AND QUEEN TYPE (Smith, p. 63, Pl. I. 1).

This type, with its two varieties ( $\alpha$ ) *rev. lion to r.*, ( $\beta$ ) *rev. lion to l.*, still remains the only one which can with certainty be attributed to Chandra Gupta I. The Bodleian coin (see Pl. II. 1), which belongs to variety ( $\beta$ ), is noteworthy as distinctly giving the object, apparently a flower, held in the king's upraised hand, and a cluster of three dots between the feet of the king and queen. At the date of Mr. Smith's article this variety was unrepresented in the British Museum collection. A specimen (wt. 118 grs., mon. 8A) has since been acquired from the Da Cunha Sale. In the description of this type it should be noted that the inscription behind the queen on the obv. appears both as कुमारदेवी श्रीः and श्रीकुमारदेवी. The latter is probably the more common form in both varieties. Another instance of the use of श्री as a suffix may perhaps be that found on the unique coin of the "Retreating Lion" type assigned to Chandra Gupta II. (Smith, p. 89, Pl. II. 6) in the legend महाराजाधिराज श्री. It is more probable, however, from the absence of the *visarga* and from the analogy of similar legends, that, in this case, the name of the monarch which followed has been lost. It would seem, from a common formation of Indian names in the period preceding the Guptas, that the postposition of श्री is earlier than its use as an "honorific" prefix.

## KĀCHA (Smith, p. 74, Pl. I. 3).

The two Bodleian coins do not call for any special description. There was also one specimen in the Da Cunha Collection (wt. 108·5, mon. 2A).

## SAMUDRA GUPTA.

## TIGER TYPE (Smith, p. 64, Pl. I. 2).

The specimen in the British Museum can no longer claim to be unique. Mr. Wilmot Lane possesses a specimen (wt. 112·1), but it is in a poor state of preservation.

## AÇVAMEDHA TYPE (Smith, p. 65, Pl. I. 4).

The Bodleian possesses two specimens of variety  $\alpha$ , and one of  $\beta$ . The last is represented in the Plate (Fig. 2). No. 694 (variety  $\alpha$ ) is noteworthy as bearing an excellent obverse legend. The सि occurring on this and on the "Lyrist" Type is still unexplained. Isolated letters or syllables of the kind occur on other Gupta coins, *e.g.*, भा on the heavy coins assigned to Chandra Gupta II. (Smith, p. 82, Pl. II. 2), and are very common on the gold coins of the later Indo-Scythians.

## JAVELIN TYPE (Smith, p. 69).

Mr. Smith's account of the marginal legend on the obverse is unsatisfactory. From a careful examination of the ten Bodleian coins, I have come to the conclusion that the following varieties may most probably be distinguished:—1. ( $\alpha$ ) समरशतविततविजयो (cf. No. 686); ( $\beta$ ) विजयो जितारि: (two words certainly in No. 690: per-

haps one compound °विजयजितारि: in No. 687). 2. स०श०वि०वि०जितारिपुरो (No. 689. This legend seems complete; there is no room for more). 3. Similar to 2, but with the addition of °जितो देवो जयति (No. 689A and 691). If these restorations be correct, we can here trace a growth of the legend from the simplest form in 1A—*“Victorious in a hundred mighty battles”*—to the full form of 3—*“Victorious in a hundred mighty battles, the destroyer of the cities of his foes, the unconquered Lord doth triumph.”* These “Javelin” coins are of two degrees of flatness. It seems to me that the legends, 1a and 1β occur on the flattest specimens, while 2 and 3 occur on the others; but it is quite probable that the evidence for this opinion is insufficient. Above the cornucopiæ on the reverse of some specimens, a mark  $\Lambda$  appears. A similar mark is also found on some of the “Archer” coins of Chandra Gupta II. There were three coins of the Javelin Type of Samudra Gupta in the Da Cunha Collection (1. wt. 121; mon. 3A; 2. wt. 115·6, mon. 6A; 3. wt. 115·4, mon. 3A). Mr. Wilmot Lane also possesses four specimens (weights, 114·0, 117·7, 115·2, and 117·9). In some cases the name of the king is written as समुद्र, e.g., B.M. Prinsep, 117·8, and Twisden, 117·4. On the Bodleian coin, No. 692, the inscription begins at the bottom l. of the obverse and ascends. This is also the case with B.M. Eden 119·2 and Banks 119·3.

## CHANDRA GUPTA II.

COUCH TYPE (Smith, p. 76, Pl. I. 18).

Mr. Smith failed to see that the obv. marginal legend is here in the genitive . . . श्री चन्द्रगुप्तस्य. This is rare, but

a parallel may be quoted from the Sykes coin, described by Dr. Hoernlé (quoted by Smith, p. 108) कुमारगुप्ताधिराज्ञो.

#### ARCHER TYPE (Smith, p. 80).

The discussion of this, by far the most numerous type of all the gold Gupta coins, raises an interesting question of attribution, and more than the usual amount of fresh information has been contributed by specimens which have recently come to hand. Mr. Smith's main division of this type into two great classes, the "Throne" reverse and the "Lotus-seat" reverse, is the best possible. In the very great majority of cases, this distinction of reverse is accompanied by an equally striking distinction of obverse, and there can be no doubt that coins having the "Throne" reverse are, as a general rule, older than those bearing the "Lotus-seat." This criterion seemed to be satisfactory and to be in accord with other evidence when applied to the coins of Samudra Gupta. Indeed, it seemed not unlikely that, as the "Throne" reverse had given place to the "Lotus-seat" reverse during the reign of Samudra Gupta, these "Archer" coins of Class I. should be attributed to the *first* Chandra Gupta. The king is dressed exactly as on the "King and Queen" type, which was undoubtedly struck by Chandra Gupta I., and the style and fabric of the two sets of coins have much in common. The former argument is, however, of little weight, as the king is dressed in armour, and the fashion of armour was not likely to change much. On the contrary, a strong reason for the attribution of the "Throne Reverse" coins to Chandra Gupta II. was found in the reverse legend *Grī Vikramaḥ*, a title which is borne by Chandra Gupta II. in inscriptions, but which has never yet been found

in conjunction with the name of Chandra Gupta I. The attribution of both classes of "Archer" coins to Chandra Gupta II. is now more certain than ever, since small varieties have come to light, which, while not strictly belonging to either of the two chief divisions, seem to mark stages of transition from the first to the second. The Bodleian coin, No. 708 (Pl. II. 4) of Class I., while bearing a reverse of the normal type, represents the king dressed more in the style of Samudra Gupta and, excepting the close-fitting cap, approaching to that commonly found on the coins of Class II. A coin belonging to Mr. Wilmot Lane (wt. 121.5) gives the king similarly dressed, but has the "Lotus-seat" reverse, thus combining an obverse of Class I. with the normal reverse of Class II. Two other "Lotus Reverse" coins, belonging to the same gentleman, offer small varieties. On one (wt. 118.2) the king holds his bow as on the "Lotus" coins proper, but is dressed as on the "Throne" coins. The British Museum has acquired a similar specimen (wt. 120.2, mon. 4c) from the Da Cunha Sale. On the other coin (wt. 117.1) the only reminiscence of the archetype seems to be in the position of the king's right hand which still continues to be turned down, whereas on the "Lotus" coins proper it is always turned up.

The obverse inscription on the heavy coins assigned to Chandra Gupta II. by Mr. Smith, is still doubtful. No adequate restoration can be attempted from the specimens as yet known. The reading of the reverse legend as श्रीविक्रमादित्य is certainly not correct for any of the coins which I have seen, but it is only fair to say that Mr. Smith's reading is to a great extent based on a coin in the Grant Collection, which I have not seen. The letters pieced

together from the British Museum specimens read more like श्रीद्वादशादित्य, which, of course, cannot by itself be right. With the addition of देव it would be possible, but most unlikely as a Gupta title. These coins are altogether mysterious, and I am sceptical even about the reading of the name under the king's arm. The first character has what appear to be vowel marks above it, and the other seems more like *-tya* than *-ndra*.

I am inclined to think that none of the heavy coins can be assigned to any monarch earlier than Skanda Gupta, and that during his reign the standard was changed from the *stater* (about 135 grains) to the *suvarna* (about 146 grains). My reasons are as follows:—The heavy coins attributed to Chandra Gupta II. may, even if the name Chandra really occurs on them, belong to some later monarch of that name. Moreover, if degradation of style and impurity of metal be evidences of a late date, one would naturally place them after the heavy coins which bear the name of Skanda. With regard to the heavy coins of Kumāra Gupta, it is probable that, as was mentioned above, these belong to Kumāra Gupta II. They bear on the reverse the title *Kramāditya*, while the title assumed by Kumāra Gupta I. was *Mahendra*. Mr. Smith wrongly supposed this reverse legend to be *Śrī Kumāra Gupta*, and regarded the reading *Śrī Kramāditya*, correctly given by Sir A. Cunningham, as exceptional. It is, however, undoubtedly the reading of every specimen that I have ever seen. Mr. Smith was probably misled by the compound *-ty* which, when badly executed, may easily be mistaken for *-pt*.

## HORSEMAN TO RIGHT TYPE (Smith, p. 84, Pl. II. 3).

A specimen acquired by the British Museum from the Da Cunha Sale (wt. 119·5) may be noticed as reading *Bhāgavato*, with the final vowel very distinctly marked.

## HORSEMAN TO LEFT TYPE (Smith, p. 85).

This type is still unrepresented in the B.M. Collection. The Bodleian contains two specimens of variety  $\alpha$ , and one, the only specimen known, of variety  $\beta$ . No. 710 (variety  $\alpha$ ) and No. 713 (variety  $\beta$ ) are represented in the Plate (Figs. 5 and 6). Mr. Wilmot Lane possesses two specimens of variety  $\alpha$  (wt. 118·5, mon. 8b; and wt. 119·9, mon. 10c).

## LION TRAMPLER TYPE (Smith, p. 87, Pl. II. 4).

The Bodleian specimen (No. 724) of variety  $\gamma$  is the only one known (Pl. II. 8). No. 726 of variety  $\delta$  (Pl. II. 9)—Mr. Wilmot Lane has one poorly preserved coin of this variety (wt. 120).

## COMBATANT LION TYPE (Smith, p. 89, Pl. II. 5).

A coin of Mr. Wilmot Lane affords a new variety (wt. 122·5).

*Obv.*—King facing r. and shooting a lion in the mouth.

*Rev.*—Goddess seated on a lion which faces r. The r. leg of the goddess hangs over the lion's flank, while the l. leg rests on the lion's back with heel touching the r. thigh. Her l. elbow rests on her knee, and her upraised l. hand holds a lotus.

## KUMĀRA GUPTA.

## ARCHER TYPE (Smith, p. 95, Pl. II. 10).

A good specimen of variety  $\epsilon$  (wt. 123·7), belonging to Mr. Wilmot Lane, gives a portion of the marginal legend महाराजाधिराज श्री.

The correction of the reading of the reverse legend on the heavy coins, and the question of their attribution have been already sufficiently discussed on p. 57.

The notes which I have from time to time jotted down in my copy of Mr. Smith's article, contain nothing of importance relating to the gold coinage of Skanda Gupta and his little-known successors, and the specimens which I have seen add practically nothing to what was known before. The coinage of the Guptas, after the time of Skanda, becomes monotonous. The coins are all struck to the heavy "*suvarna*" standard, and the gold becomes so debased as to be scarcely recognisable. There is no longer any variety in the types. The "Archer" type of obverse and the "Lotus-seat" reverse, which became common in the reign of Chandra Gupta II. were eventually used to the exclusion of all others.

No new varieties of the silver coinage have been found. Mr. Smith's article still represents all that is known on the subject.

A few words remain to be said about the rare copper coins. In my visits to the Bodleian I have found nearly twenty additional specimens hidden among the miscellaneous coins. Some of these have been in good preservation, *e.g.*, the coin of Chandra Gupta II. "Umbrella Type" (Pl. II. 14), and one new variety has been found. This most nearly resembles Mr. Smith's "Chandra Head" Type (Smith, p. 141), but in place of the head the obverse is quite occupied with the name चन्द्र, having over it a crescent, while on the reverse appears Garuḍa with the inscription गुप्तः



## GUPTA COINS IN THE BODLEIAN COLLECTION.

No.	Weight.	GOLD.	Mon.
		CHANDRA GUPTA I. (c. 360—c. 380 A.D.) King and Queen Type.	
683	118.	See Smith, p. 63. King holds flower in right hand; below, a cluster of three dots, . . . [Pl. II. 1.	4 a
		KĀCHA.	
678	118.5	S., p. 74.	1
679	110.5	"	2 b
		SAMUDRA GUPTA (c. 380—c. 398 A.D.) Açvamedha Type.	
		Variety $\alpha$ .	
694	112.5	S., p. 65. <i>Obv. inser. in good pre-</i> <i>servation.</i>	—
695	117.	"	—
		Variety $\beta$ .	
696	115.	S., p. 66. [Pl. II. 2.	—
		Javelin Type.	
		Variety $\alpha$ .	
686	116.	S., p. 69. <i>Samaraçatavitata vijayah.</i>	4 d
686a	115.5	"	4 c
687	115.5	" <i>Samaraçatavi[tata]vijaya-</i> <i>jitāriḥ.</i>	3 a
687a	115.	"	3 a
688	121.5	"	3 a
689	118.5	" <i>Samaraçatavitata vijaya-jitā-</i> <i>ripurah.</i> [Pl. II. 8.	8 a
689a	119.	"	8 b
690	119.	" <i>-[vi]jayo jitāriḥ.</i>	4 c
691	120.	" <i>Inscr. compared with 689a</i> <i>probably S. g. vi. vi. jitā-</i> <i>ripuro 'jito devo jayati.</i>	8 b
692	112.	" <i>Inscr. begins at bottom</i> <i>left and runs upwards.</i>	4 d

## GUPTA COINS—(continued).

No.	Weight.	Archer Type.	Mon.
		<i>Variety a.</i>	
693	116·		22 b
		CHANDRA GUPTA II. (c. 395—415 A.D.)	
		Archer Type.	
		Class I. <i>Variety a.</i>	
708	119·5	S., p. 80. King apparently wears sword. [Pl. II. 4.	19 d
		<i>Variety β.</i>	
709	120·	S., p. 81.	4 c
		Class II. <i>Variety a.</i>	
697	120·	S., p. 81.	19 b
698	118·5	"	?
699	126·	"	8 b
700	123·5	"	3 a
701	—	" A broken coin held together by a metal rim.	3 a
702	120·5	"	3a or 8b?
703	119·5	"	?
704	120·	"	10 a
705	108·5	"	10 a
706	—	" The object at king's side seems to be a knot and not a sword.	17 c
		Horseman to Right Type.	
732	109·5	S., p. 84.	19 c
		Horseman to Left Type.	
		<i>Variety a.</i>	
710	119·5	S., p. 85. <i>Obv. and rev. legends complete.</i> [Pl. II. 5.	8 b
711	120·	"	8 b

## GUPTA COINS—(continued).

No.	Weight.	Variety $\beta$ .	Mon.
713	140.5	S., p. 86. <i>Unique</i> . The weight is remarkable. [Pl. II. 6.	7 dots and a crescent
		Lion Trampler Type.	
		Variety $\alpha$ .	
725	120.5	S., p. 87. [Pl. II. 7.	8 a
		Variety $\gamma$ .	
724	125.5	S., p. 88. The only specimen known. [Pl. II. 8.	
		Variety $\delta$ .	
726	120.5	S., p. 88. [Pl. II. 9.	
		Umbrella Type.	
		Variety $\alpha$ .	
680		S., p. 91.	8 b
681		"	No mon.
682		"	8 b
		KUMĀRA GUPTA (415—455 A.D.).	
		Swordsman Type.	
717	124.5	S., p. 94. Legends good. [Pl. II. 10.	8 b
		Archer Type.	
		Class I. Variety $\alpha$ .	
714	125.5	S., p. 96. Legends good. [Pl. II. 11.	—
715	124.	"	—
716	125.	"	8 b
		A. Class II.	
719	120.5	S., p. 97.	?
735	118.5	"	8 b
736	115.5	"	8 b

## GUPTA COINS—(continued).

No.	Weight.		Mon.
		Horseman to Right Type.	
		<i>Variety α.</i>	
712	125·5	S., p. 101.	—
		<i>Variety β.</i>	
731	125·5	S., p. 102.	—
		<i>Variety γ.</i>	
734	125·5	S., p. 102.	—
		Horseman to Left Type.	
738	128·5		—
		SKANDA GUPTA (455—c. 470 A.D.)	
		<i>Class B.</i>	
684	138·	S., p. 112.	8b
727	141·5	„	—
728	131·5	„	8a
730	141·5	„	—
		NARA[SIMHA] GUPTA.	
718	142·5	S., p. 117.	—
720	146·		—
721	144·5		—
722	143·		—
723	144·5		—
729	147·		—
		COPPER COINS REPRESENTED IN PLATE.	
		Chandra Gupta II.	
752		“Umbrella Type.” [Pl. II. 13.	—
No No.		„ „ [Pl. II. 14.	—
		Kumāra Gupta.	
751		“Standing King.” [Pl. II. 15.	—

## GOLD GUPTA COINS IN THE COLLECTION OF MR. WILMOT LANE.

No.	Weight.	
1	111.5	Chandra Gupta. "King and Queen Type." Apparently a new monogram—a large circle with line and four dots above it.
2	112.2	Samudra Gupta. "Tiger Type." A poor specimen.
3	114.6	" " "Açvamedha." <i>Var. a.</i>
4	117.5	" " "Lyrist." <i>Var. a.</i>
5	114.	" " "Javelin." <i>Var. a.</i>
6	117.7	" " " " "
7	115.2	" " " " "
8	117.9	" " " " "
9	121.5	Chandra Gupta II. "Archer Type." A new variety, combining the usual <i>obv.</i> of Class I., <i>var. a.</i> , with the <i>rev.</i> of Class II.
10	118.2	" " "Archer" ( <i>v. sup.</i> , p. 55).
11	117.1	" " " " ( <i>v. sup.</i> , p. 55).
12	123.9	" " " " An excellent specimen.
13	118.5	" " "Horseman to Left." <i>Var. a.</i>
14	119.5	" " " " "
15	120.	" " "Lion Trampler." <i>Var. s.</i>
16	122.5	" " "Combatant Lion." A new variety ( <i>v. sup.</i> , p. 58).
17	123.7	Kumāra Gupta. "Archer Type." <i>Var. c.</i>
18	124.5	" " "Horseman to Right."

## VI.

### ENGLISH PERSONAL MEDALS FROM 1760.

(See Pl. III.)

(Continued from vol. x., page 98.)

ADAM, FIRST VISCOUNT DUNCAN, OF CAMPERDOWN,  
1731—1804.

ENGAGEMENT OFF CAMPERDOWN, 1797.

1. *Obv.*—Bust of Duncan to right, in naval uniform, wearing ribbon of the Bath and medal; on shoulder, HANCOCK; below P. K. (Peter Kempson). *Legt.* ADAM LORD VISCOUNT DUNCAN ADMIRAL OF THE WHITE. BORN JULY 1, 1731.

*Rev.*—Sailor nailing English flag to mast-head. *Legt.* OCTOBER 11, 1797, WITH 24 SHIPS & 1198 GUNS DEFEATED THE DUTCH FLEET OF 26 SHIPS & 1259 GUNS. 9 SHIPS & 502 GUNS TAKEN. In the exergue, HEROIC COURAGE PROTECTS THE BRITISH FLAGS. HANCOCK.

1.9. MB. Æ. ST. Pl. III. 1.

ADAM DUNCAN, Admiral, born at Dundee, entered the navy in 1746, and served under Keppel in the Mediterranean and on the coast of North America. Having obtained the rank of Commander in 1759, he took an important share in the reduction of Belle-Isle in 1761, and of Havanna in August, 1792. He sat in 1779 as a member of the court-martial on Keppel, and in the same year, being attached to the Channel fleet under Sir Charles Hardy, took part in the action off Capo St. Vincent. In February, 1795, he was appointed Commander-in-Chief in the North Sea, and in that capacity, on the 11th of October, 1797, won the famous victory over the Dutch off Camperdown, in which De Winter,

the Dutch Admiral, was taken prisoner. For this great service Duncan was raised to the peerage under the title of Viscount Duncan, of Camperdown, and Baron Duncan, of Lundie, in Perthshire. Duncan continued in command of the North Sea fleet till 1801. Died August, 1804.

ENGAGEMENT OFF CAMPERDOWN, 1797.

2. *Obv.*—Bust of Duncan to left, in naval uniform, and wearing ribbon, star of the Bath and medal; below, MUDIE . DIR . WEBB . F. *Leg.* ADM. VISC. DUNCAN.

*Rev.*—The Dutch Admiral De Winter surrendering his sword to Admiral Duncan. MUDIE . D. *Leg.* DUTCH FLEET DEFEATED 9 SHIPS OF THE LINE CAPTURED 11 OCT<sup>R</sup>. 1797. In the exergue, trophy of arms, flags, &c. w. WYON.

1.6. MB. Æ.

This is one of Mudie's Series of National Medals.

ENGAGEMENT OFF CAMPERDOWN, 1797.

3. *Obv.*—Bust of Duncan, similar to the preceding, but nearly facing. *Leg.* LORD VISC<sup>T</sup> DUNCAN OF CAMPERDOWN ADMIRAL OF THE BLUE.

*Rev.*—Britannia seated to left on rock, head facing, holding in right hand wreath, and in left the British flag; her right arm rests on rudder; on left, the British lion trampling on French and Dutch flags; on right, the British shield. *Leg.* BRITANNIA TRIUMPHANT. In the exergue, DUTCH FLEET DEFEATED 11 SHIPS TAKEN OCT<sup>R</sup>. 11, 1797.

1.5. MB. Æ.

ENGAGEMENT OFF CAMPERDOWN, 1797.

4. *Obv.*—Bust facing of Duncan, head to right, in embroidered coat. *Leg.* ADMIRAL DUNCAN.

*Rev.*—Inscription in twelve lines, STRUCK IN HONOUR OF ADMIRAL DUNCAN WHO DEFEATED THE DUTCH FLEET, OCTOBER 11, 1797.

AND IN IMMORTAL REMEMBRANCE OF  
THE BRAVE MEN WHO FELL IN THE  
ACTION.

1.45. MB. Æ.

THANKSGIVING FOR VICTORY OFF CAMPERDOWN, 1797.

5. *Obv.*—Bust of George III. to right, laureate; on either side, G. III. *Leg.* VISITED ST. PAUL'S DECEMBER 19 1797.

*Rev.*—Shield, radiate, with arms of the City of London, resting on sword and mace; below, IN HONOR OF LORD DUNCAN'S VICTORY OVER THE DUTCH FLEET, OCT. 11 1797.

1.3. MB. Æ.

On the 19th of December, 1797, a National Thanksgiving was held for the three great naval victories achieved under the command of Lord Howe, Earl St. Vincent, and Lord Duncan; viz. the victory of the 1st of June, 1794; the battle off Cape St. Vincent, 14th of February, 1797; and that off Camperdown in October, 1797. The king, accompanied by the members of the royal family, attended a special service in St. Paul's Cathedral.

THANKSGIVING FOR VICTORY OFF CAMPERDOWN, 1797.

6. *Obv.*—Bust of George III. to right, laureate; below, MILTON. *Leg.* GEORGIUS . III . DEI . GRATIA.

*Rev.*—The crown, orb, sceptre, and sword placed on cushion on pedestal, inscribed, HOWE ST. VINCENT DUNCAN. MILTON. Around the base of the pedestal lie the French, Dutch, and Spanish flags. *Leg.* ROYAL . THANKSGIVING . AT . ST. PAUL'S. In the exergue, DEC. 19, 1797.

1.25. MB. Æ. Æ.



## ENGAGEMENT OFF CAMPERDOWN COMMEMORATED, 1798.

7. *Obv.*—Bust of Duncan facing, in naval uniform, ribbon and star of the Bath, and medal; on shoulder, WYON; below, P. K. FEC. (Peter Kempson fecit).  
*Leg.* ADM<sup>L</sup>. LP. DUNCAN BORN HERE  
 1781. DEFEATD THE DUTCH FLEET  
 1797—DUNDEE PENNY 1798.

*Rev.*—Adam and Eve in the garden of Eden, the latter is seated beneath tree on which is the serpent.  
*Leg.* 28,000 INHABITANTS IN DUNDEE.  
 VID. STATISTICAL ACCOUNT BY R. S.  
 SMALL. D.D. In the exergue, BE FRUIT-  
 FULL AND MULTIPLY. GEN. 1. 28. J. W. L.  
 DRS (J. W. Lang).

1.25. MB. Æ.

This is the Dundee Penny Token. Viscount Duncan, being a native of Dundee, was naturally, after his recent victory, very popular in that city. The type of the reverse refers to the prosperous state of the place, which was rising into importance, and the number of its inhabitants rapidly increasing.

## RICHARD DUPPA, 1770—1831.

## MEMORIAL, 1828.

*Obv.*—Head of Dappa to left; below, W. WYON S. MINT.  
*Leg.* RICHARDVS DVPPA. LL.B.

*Rev.*—Within floral wreath, rose, mitre, and crozier on scrolls inscribed M. ANGELT ... RAFF SVB  
 [VER]TION OF [T]HE [PA]PAL [GOVER]  
 NMENT; below, MDCCCXXVIII.

1.35. MB. Æ. Pl. III. 2.

Richard Dappa, artist and author, studied in Rome in early life, and showed himself a skilful draughtsman. He matriculated at Trinity College, Oxford, in 1807, became

student of the Middle Temple in 1810, graduated I.L.B. Trinity Hall, Cambridge, in 1814, and wrote largely botanical, artistic, and political topics. He died in Lincoln's Inn in July, 1831.

The above medal refers to a work which Duppa published in 1799, entitled, *A Journal of the most remarkable occurrences that took place in Rome upon the Subversion of Ecclesiastical Government in 1798*. Duppa was in that year studying at Rome, and his work gives a graphic description of the conduct of the French after their occupation of the city; their total destruction of the Villa Albani, the plunder of the Vatican and other buildings, the extortion of heavy dues, and the virtual deposition of the Pope. This conduct roused the indignation of other European states, and in England Duppa's work soon obtained a wide circulation.

WILLIAM DYCE, R.A., 1806—1864.

ART UNION MEDAL, 1867.

*Obv.*—Head of Dyce to left; below, 1806—1864, c.o.  
ADAMS F. *Leg.* DYCE.

*Rev.*—Our Saviour bearing lamb. *Leg.* ART UNION  
OF LONDON, 1867. In the exergue, c. o.  
ADAMS F.

2.2. R. W. Cochran-Patrick, *Æt.*

William Dyce, painter, born at Aberdeen, entered the Scottish Academy at the age of sixteen, and later that in London. After visiting Italy on two occasions he settled at Edinburgh, where he remained eight years practising as portrait painter. In 1835 he was elected a member of the Scottish Academy, appointed Inspector of Provincial Art Schools in 1842, an Associate of the Royal Academy

in 1844, and a full Academician in 1848. His exhibits at the Royal Academy were mostly portraits, but he gained some reputation by his "Descent of Venus" in 1836, and by his fresco decorations in the Houses of Parliament.

DANIEL ISAAC EATON. Died, 1814.

HIS TRIAL AND ACQUITTAL, 1795.

*Obv.*—Bust of Eaton to left in coat with falling collar; below, on scroll, FRANGAS NON FLECTES.  
*Leg.* D . I . EATON THREE TIMES ACQUITTED OF SEDITION.

*Rev.*—Within enclosure, pigs feeding at trough; on the enclosure stands a cock. *Leg.* PRINTER TO THE MAJESTY OF THE PEOPLE . LONDON . 1795.

1.15. MB. Æ.

Daniel Isaac Eaton, bookseller, was indicted in June, 1793, for selling the second part of Paine's *Rights of Man*, and again, in July following, for selling Paine's *Letters addressed to the Addressers*. On both occasions verdicts equivalent to acquittal were given. A similar action brought against him in 1794 met with the same result; but in 1796, to escape punishment for a like offence, he fled the country, was outlawed, and lived in America for three years. On his return to England he was imprisoned for fifteen months and his property seized. In 1812 he was again indicted for issuing Paine's *Age of Reason*, and, being found guilty, was sentenced to eighteen months imprisonment and to stand in the pillory, when, "to the credit of the populace, instead of saluting him with what his prosecutors desired, they cheered and even endea-

red to convey to him some refreshment." He died in  
erty at Deptford, August 22nd, 1814.

The above medal was struck on Eaton's acquittal in  
15.

### GEORGE EDMONDS.

#### REFORM BILL AGITATION, &c., 1832.

*Obv.*—Bust of Edmonds to left, in cont. *Leg.* MR.  
GEO EDMONDS FOUNDER & CHAIR-  
MAN OF THE GREAT NEWHALL HILL  
MEETINGS IN 1818 & 19, MEMBER OF  
THE BIRM<sup>M</sup> POLITICAL COUNCIL, 1831,  
32.

*Rev.*—Monument, radiate, inscribed NEW MAGNA  
CHARTA; at the base are three scrolls each  
inscribed REFORM BILL; below and on either  
side, rose, shamrock, and thistle, and the date  
1832.

175. MB. Æ.

This medal refers to certain political dissensions at  
Birmingham in 1818—1819, and also to the passing of  
the Reform Bill. Edmonds, who was a schoolmaster,  
took an active part in both these proceedings.

On July 12th, 1819, a large meeting was held at New  
Hall Hill, near Birmingham, at which a resolution was  
passed nominating Sir Charles Wolseley Legislative  
Attorney and Representative of Birmingham, and re-  
questing the Speaker of the House of Commons to allow  
Wolseley to attend and take his place in Parliament.  
The conveners of this meeting were afterwards indicted  
for misdemeanour. Edmonds also took part in the  
meetings connected with the Reform Bill.

THOMAS HOWARD, THIRD EARL OF EFFINGHAM,  
1747—1791.

MEMORIAL, 1791.

*Obv.*—Head of the Earl of Effingham to left; below, *J.*  
MILTON F. *Leg.* THO. HOWARD. COM. DE.  
EFFINGHAM. REI. MONET. PRÆF. 1784.

*Rev.*—Britannia seated to left on globe, holding spear  
and resting arm on shield; at her side cornucopia,  
from which fall coins and medals, some of  
which are inscribed "Milton F." "Tower,"  
"London," "1790." *Edge,* NATVS. XIII.  
JAN. MDCCXLVII. OB. XV. NOV. MDCC-  
XCI. ÆT. XLIV.

1.4. MB. R. Pl. III. 3.

Lord Effingham was Deputy Earl-Marshal of England in April, 1782, Treasurer of the King's Household, and Master of the Mint in 1784. He was afterwards appointed Governor of Jamaica, where he died 15th November, 1791. This memorial of Lord Effingham, made by Milton, one of the engravers at the Royal Mint, while recording his death, specially commemorates his appointment as chief officer of the Mint.

JOHN EGERTON, M.P., 1766—1825.

HIS ELECTION FOR CHESTER, 1812.

*Obv.*—Bust of Egerton to left, in tie-wig, coat, &c. *Inner*  
*Leg.* JOHN EGERTON OF OULTON, ESQ<sup>r</sup>.,  
M.P. *Outer Leg.* ELECTED THE 6 MAY  
1807, & RE-ELECTED ON THE 20 OCTOBER  
1812—THE FREEMEN'S CHOICE.

*Rev.*—Inscription in eleven lines, TO COMMEMORATE  
THE GLORIOUS 20 OCTOBER, 1812, WHEN  
THE Independent FREEMEN OF CHESTER  
TRIUMPHED OVER THE USURPER OF  
THEIR RIGHTS AND PRIVILEGES.

1.7. MB. R.

At the general election in 1812 there was a sharp contest at Chester, but Egerton, who had sat for the city since 1807, was returned with General Grosvenor, who headed the poll. The unsuccessful candidates were Sir Richard Brooke and Mr. Townshend. John Egerton, son of Philip Egerton, of Wilton, succeeded in 1814 to the baronetcy, on the death of his kinsman Sir Thomas Grey, who was created Earl of Wilton, and assumed by royal license the additional surname of Grey. He died 24th May, 1825, without issue.

JOHN SCOTT, EARL OF ELDON, 1751—1831.

RESIGNATION OF THE LORD CHANCELLORSHIP, 1827.

1. *Obv.*—Bust of Lord Eldon to left, in wig and robes: below,  
c. VOYGT. F. *Leg.* JOHN EARL OF ELDON  
LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR OF GREAT  
BRITAIN 1827.

*Rev.*—Inscription in twelve lines, BORN 4 JUNE 1751  
CALLED TO THE BAR 1776 SOL. GEN.  
1788. ATTORN. GEN. 1798. BARON EL-  
DON. CH. JUST. COM. PL. 1799 LORD  
CHANCELLOR 1801 RESIG. THE SEALS  
1806. RECALLED 1807 CONTINUED LORD  
CHANCELLOR UNTIL THE DEMISE OF  
GEORGE III. 1820 RE-APPOINTED BY  
GEORGE IV. ON HIS ACCESSION AND  
CREATED VISC. ENCOMBE EARL OF  
ELDON.

1.9. MB. R. Æ. Pl. III. 4.

John Scott, Earl of Eldon, Lord Chancellor of England, was the third son of William Scott, a coalfitter of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and younger brother of Lord Stowell. The chief events connected with the career of this remarkable man are detailed in the inscription on the reverse of the medal, which was no doubt struck soon

after he had resigned the Great Seal in 1827, having filled the office of Lord Chancellor for a period of nearly twenty-five years, viz., from 1801—1806, and 1807—1827. Sir Samuel Romilly, in the House of Commons, declared that “there never presided in the Court of Chancery a man of more deep and varied learning in his profession than the Lord Chancellor; and that Court had never seen, he would not say his superior, but his equal.”

#### MEMORIAL.

2. *Obv.*—Bust of Lord Eldon to left, the same as the preceding.

*Rev.*—Oak wreath.

1·9. MB. Æ.

This medal was probably issued about the same time as the preceding one.

GEORGE AUGUSTUS ELIOTT, LORD HEATHFIELD,  
1780—1790.

#### DEFENCE OF GIBRALTAR, 1782.

1. *Obv.*—Bust of Elliott to left, in tie-wig, naval uniform, ribbon, star and badge of the Bath; below, TERRY FEC. LONDON. *Leg.* GEO. AUGUSTUS. ELIOTT. GOVERNOR. OF. GIBRALTAR AN. 1782.

*Rev.*—View of the harbour, town, and rock of Gibraltar; ships burning, &c. In the exergue, VICTRIX IN FLAMIS VICTRIX IN UNDIS.

1·65. MB. Æ. Æ.

George Augustus Elliott, the son of Sir Gilbert Elliott, of Stobbs, Roxburghshire, was educated at Leyden, and attaching himself to an engineer corps was present at Dettingen. In 1759 he was appointed to raise the 1st

giment of light horse for service on the Continent, served with great reputation during the Seven Years' War, and in 1775 was made Commander-in-Chief in Ireland, whence he returned shortly after and went to Gibraltar as Governor. That fortress he defended with unsummate courage and skill when besieged by the French and Spaniards. The siege began in 1779, was carried on both by land and sea, and did not terminate till February, 1783. On his return to England Elliott was raised to the peerage by the title of Lord Heathfield, Baron Gibraltar.

This and the following medals commemorate the assault made on the 13th September, 1782, by the battering ships of the enemy under the command of Admiral Moreno. Owing to the precision with which the garrison fired the red-hot shot the assault failed, and not a single vessel of the enemy escaped, all being burnt to the water's edge.

#### DEFENCE OF GIBRALTAR, 1782.

2. *Obv.*—Bust of Elliott to left, in tie-wig, military uniform, and ribbon and star of the Garter; below, J. P. PROZ F. *Leg.* GEORGE AUGUSTUS ELLIOTT GOVERNOR OF GIBRALTAR.

*Rev.*—Hercules with apples of the Hesperides and club, standing, facing; beside him pillar, another beyond, the sea between; in the distance, Gibraltar. *Leg.* FORTITER ET REOTE. In the exergue, XIII. SEPT. MDCCLXXXII. PROZ. F.

2·35. MB. Æ. Pl. III. 5.

The rock of Calpe (Gibraltar) on the Spanish coast, with the opposite one of Abyla on the African coast, formed the renowned "Pillars of Hercules," so called from the myth that he tore asunder the mountain which closed the Straits.



## DEFENCE OF GIBRALTAR, 1782.

3. *Obv.*—View of the rock, town, and bay of Gibraltar; ships on fire. *Leg.* PER TOT DISCRIMINARERUM. In the exergue, XIII SEPT. MDCCLXXXII.

*Rev.*—Within laurel wreath, REDEN LAMOTTE SYDOW ELIOTT. Around, BRUDER-SCHAFT. L. PINGO. F.

1.95. MB. *N. R.*

The names on the reverse, with the exception of Elliott's, are those of the commanders of the Hanoverian brigade. Major-General de La Motte was most active during the whole siege, and in the vote of thanks to the garrison which was passed in the House of Commons, 12th December, 1782, his name was especially mentioned.

## SIEGE OF GIBRALTAR RAISED, 1783.

4. *Obv.*—Bust of Elliott to right, in naval uniform and hat, and ribbon and badge of the Bath; on truncation, REICH. *Leg.* ELLIOT AN MARTIS SOCIVS? NON: IVPITER IPSE EST.

*Rev.*—View of Gibraltar attacked and attacking. *Leg.* VICTRIX IN FLAMIS VICTRIX GIBRALTAR IN VNDIS. In the exergue, MDCCLXXXIII. R (J. C. Reich).

1.65. MB. *R.*

This medal was made in Germany. Reich worked at that time in the town of Fürth, in Bavaria.

## MOUNTSTUART ELPHINSTONE, 1779—1859.

BOMBAY NATIVE EDUCATION SOCIETY FOUNDED, 1838.

*Obv.*—Head of Elphinstone to right; on neck, 1838; below, W. WYON . S . MINT. *Leg.* MOUNTSTUART ELPHINSTONE FOUNDED.

*Rev.*—Britannia presenting scroll, inscribed NATIVE EDUCATION, to Indian boy and girl; at her feet, scroll and shield. *Leg.* NATIVE EDUCATION SOCIETY. In the exergue, BOMBAY W. WYON MINT 1838.

1.5. MB. Æ. Pl. III. 6.

Mountstuart Elphinstone, fourth son of John, eleventh Lord Elphinstone, was distinguished alike as a scholar and a statesman. In 1796 he went to India, and remained there till 1827, and during that period took part in every great political event. In 1808 he went as British envoy to Cabul; from 1810 to 1818 he filled the office of Political Resident at Poona; and, in 1819, he was appointed to the Governorship of Bombay, which he held till 1827, when he quitted India, and travelling through Egypt, Turkey, and Greece, arrived in England, 1829, having been absent nearly thirty-three years. High and responsible posts were offered to him, but he declined them all, and devoted his leisure to his well-known "History of India." This medal was struck to commemorate the great interest taken by Elphinstone in the education of the natives of India during his governorship, and especially in establishing at Poona a college for the promotion of native learning, which was at first regarded with some disfavour by the Government.

SIR HENRY CHARLES ENGLEFIELD, 1752—1822.

MEMORIAL, 1817.

1. *Obv.*—Head of Englefield to left.

*Rev.*—Monogram of H.C.E.; above, AYNB = 1752; below, AΩIZ = 1817.

·85. MB. Æ.

Henry Englefield, antiquary and scientific writer, was the eldest son of Sir Henry Englefield, whom he succeeded in the baronetcy in 1780. He was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1778, and of the Society of Antiquaries in 1779. Of the latter he was for many years one of the vice-presidents, and for a short time the president, and a frequent contributor to the *Archæologia*. He also joined the Dilettanti Society, and was for fourteen years its secretary. This and the following medalet do not record any particular event.

MEMORIAL, 1819.

2. *Obv.*—Head of Englefield to left; below, H. C. E. in monogram, 1819, MILLS F.

*Rev.*—Plain.

1·8. MB. Æ. Pl. III. 7.

CHEVALIER D'EON, 1728—1810.

MEMORIAL, 1777.

*Obv.*—Bust of D'Eon to right, in tie-wig, and coat with broad collar. *Leg.* MADAME D'EON +

*Rev.*—Inscription in eleven lines, AVOCAT AU PAR<sup>T</sup> PARI DOCT<sup>R</sup>. EN D<sup>T</sup>. CAPIT<sup>N</sup>. DE DRAG<sup>N</sup>. CHEVALIER DE L. R. ET M. DE. ST. LO<sup>S</sup>. MINISTRE DE LA COU<sup>R</sup>. DE FRANCE EN ANGLETERRE GENTILHOMME D'AMBAS- SADE EN RUSSIE. 1777. F.

1·6. MB. Æ.

This extraordinary character, who is registered in the parish of St. Pancras, Middlesex, as "Charles Geneviève Louis Auguste André Timothée D'Eon de Beaumont," was born at Tonnerre, in Burgundy, received under the patronage of the Prince de Conti a cornetcy of Dragoons,

is employed on a mission to St. Petersburg in 1755, and served in the campaign of 1762 as aide-de-camp to Marshal Broglie. In 1763 he came to England as secretary to the Duke de Nivernois, whom he succeeded

Minister Plenipotentiary. At this time he was invested with the order of St. Louis. About 1771 doubts were entertained concerning his sex, and on his returning

France he actually assumed the female dress, for what reason has never been explained. In 1785 he came back

England, where he resided till his death in 1810, teaching fencing; but, when the Revolution broke out, he presented a petition to the Assembly as Madame 'Eon, offering his services in a military capacity. This offer, however, was disregarded. At his death all doubts as to his sex were completely removed by professional inspection. D'Eon's portrait as man, as woman, or as half man, half woman, was frequently painted.

### THOMAS ERSKINE AND VICARY GIBBS.

TRIAL OF HARDY, TOOKE, AND THELWALL, 1794.

1. *Obv.*—Heads of Erskine and Gibbs, jugate, to right; below, I. M. F. (John Milton fecit). *Leg.* HON. T. ERSKINE . V . GIBBS . ESQ. PATRIOTS WHO FOR SACRED FREEDOM STOOD.

*Rev.*—Justice raising aloft her scales and supporting fainting figure of Liberty; in the background, lion. *Leg.* RETURNING JUSTICE LIFTS ALOFT HER SCALE. In the exergue, MDCCXCIV.

175. MB. R. PL. III. 8.

This medal records the famous trials of Hardy and others, members of the Society of Friends of the People or Advocating Parliamentary Reform. The Government having considered their action treasonable, suspended the

Habeas Corpus Act, and found true Bills against twelve persons. The counsel for the defence were Erskine (afterwards Lord Chancellor) and Gibbs (afterwards Solicitor-General). The trials began 25th October, 1794, Hardy's case being taken first. It lasted several days, but ended in the acquittal of the accused, and the same happened to Horne Tooke and Thelwall, whose cases followed. Erskine's triumph and popularity were at the highest pitch: bonfires were lit; the crowd drew his carriage to Serjeant's Inn; his portraits and busts were sold all over the country; tokens were struck with his effigy, and he was presented with the freedom of numerous Corporations.

TRIAL OF HARDY, TOOKE, AND THELWALL, 1794.

2. *Obv.*—Busts of Erskine and Gibbs, jugate, to left. *Leg.* T. ERSKINE V. GIBBS COUNSEL. All within circle formed of a serpent with its tail in its mouth. Outside the serpent are arranged in three divisions the names of the jurymen who served on the trials of Hardy, Tooke, and Thelwall.

*Rev.*—Bust, of Hardy, Tooke, and Thelwall, jugate, to right. *Leg.* T. HARDY J. H. TOOKE J. THELWALL.

1.5. MB. ST.

THOMAS ERSKINE, AFTERWARDS LORD CHANCELLOR,  
1715—1823.

TRIAL OF HARDY, TOOKE, AND THELWALL, 1794.

*Obv.*—Bust of Erskine to left, in wig and gown. *Leg.* HON. T. ERSKINE.

*Rev.*—Inscription in four lines, A FRIEND TO FREEDOM & RIGHTS OF MAN.

1.15. MB. Æ.

This medal relates to the same event as the two preceding. Thomas Erskine, son of David, Earl of Buchan, was educated at Edinburgh High School and St. Andrew's, and afterwards at Trinity College, Cambridge. Having entered at Lincoln's Inn, he was called to the Bar in 1778; was elected M.P. for Portsmouth in 1783; defended Thomas Paine for the second part of his *Rights of Man*, and Hardy and others in 1794. In 1802 the Prince of Wales restored him to his office of Attorney-General, from which he had been dismissed at the time of Paine's trial; and on the death of Pitt in 1806 Erskine was made Lord Chancellor and raised to the Peerage. He, however, retired from office on the dissolution of the Administration in the following year.

WILLIAM EUING. Died, 1874.

EUING LECTURESHIP FOUNDED, 1866.

*Obv.*—Bust of Euing to left, in frock-coat, &c. On truncation, D. CUNNINGHAME F. *Leg.* WILLIAM EUING F.R.S.E. GLASGOW 1869.

*Rev.*—Inscription, EUING LECTURESHIP. ANDERSON'S UNIVERSITY.

1.5. R. W. Cochran Patrick, Æ.

In 1866 William Euing, insurance broker, in Glasgow, settled in trust the sum of £3,000 for the purpose of securing the delivery of Courses of Popular Lectures in the Anderson University upon the History and Theory of Music, and upon the Lives of Eminent Musicians, and also upon such branches of Acoustics as may be connected with and illustrate the Science and Practice of Music.

Euing died 12th May, 1874, and by his will bequeathed his whole musical library to the University, along with £1,000 for providing accommodation and for paying a

librarian to take charge of it. He further bequeathed £150, the interest of which is to be applied in providing prizes in connection with the Chair of Music instituted by him. Anderson's University is now styled Anderson's College. It was founded in 1796.

THE REV. CALEB EVANS. Died, 1791.

MEMORIAL.

*Obv.*—Bust of Evans to left, in clerical dress; on shoulder, w. m. (William Mainwaring). *Leg.* THE REV. CALEB EVANS, D.D.

*Rev.*—Within floral wreath, BLESSED ARE THE DEAD WHICH DIE IN THE LORD. OBT. AUG. 9, 1791. *Æt.* 54.

1.45. MB. *Æ.*

The Rev. Caleb Williams was a leading Nonconformist, and for many years president of the Baptist Academy and pastor of the congregation of Protestant Dissenters in Brons-mead, Bristol. He died at Downhead, near Bristol. In a contemporary notice of his death, Evans is described as a man of a kind, gentle, benevolent, and pious nature, whose memory would be venerated by all who knew him.

JOHN EVANS, P.S.A.

JUBILEE OF THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF LONDON, 1887.

*Obv.*—Bust of Evans to right; on truncation, PINCHES. F. *Leg.* IOH. EVANS. D.C.L. S.R.S. PRAESIDI.

*Rev.*—Within laurel wreath, SIC L SIC C. Around, SOCIETAS NVMISM. LOND. ANNOS CONST. LI. MDCCCLXXXVII.

2.25. MB. *Æ.* PL. III. 9.

In 1887 the Numismatic Society of London completed its jubilee, and to celebrate the event the Council decided to strike a medal with the head of Mr. John Evans on the obverse, and an inscription appropriate to the occasion on the reverse. Mr. Evans, the well-known antiquary and president of the Society of Antiquaries, has held the office of president of the Numismatic Society since 1874, having previously filled the post of hon. secretary for many years. In asking Mr. Evans's leave to have his bust placed on the medal the Council considered it would be some slight recognition of the very valuable services which he had rendered to the Society. The inscription and type of the reverse is adapted from a medallion of the Roman Emperor Constantine. The dies for the medal were executed by Mr. John Pinches, of Oxendon Street.

EDWARD PELLEW, VISCOUNT EXMOUTH, 1757—1833.

ALGIERS BOMBARDED, 1816.

1. *Obv.*—Bust of Exmouth to right, in naval uniform; below,  
LOUIS BR. F. (Louis Brühl ?) MUDIE . D. *Leg.*  
ADMIRAL LORD EXMOUTH.

*Rev.*—Neptune striking sea-horse with his trident: GERRARD .  
S. J. MUDIE . D. *Leg.* ALGIERS AUGUST  
1816.

1-6. MB. Æ. ST.

Edward Pellew, Viscount Exmouth, Admiral, born at Dover, entered the navy at the age of thirteen; served during the American War, and in 1793 received the command of the *Nymphæ*, with which he captured the French frigate *Cleopatra*. This being the first ship taken during the war he had the honour of knighthood



conferred upon him, and in 1796 was advanced to a baronetcy, for the courage and self-devotion shown in preserving the life of the crew of the East Indiaman *Dalton*. In 1804 he was promoted to the rank of Rear-Admiral, and appointed Commander-in-Chief in the East Indies, was Vice-Admiral in 1808, blockaded Flushing in 1810, and shortly afterwards was placed in command of the Mediterranean Squadron, and in 1814 was created Baron Exmouth. During this command he concluded treaties with Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli for the abolition of slavery; but the Algerians having violated the terms of their treaty, Exmouth arrived off Algiers, and failing to obtain a compliance to his demands, without delay bombarded the city. For his promptitude of action, and the success which attended it, he was created a Viscount and received the thanks of Parliament. He died 6th February, 1833.

#### ALGIERS BOMBARDED, 1816.

2. *Obv.*—Head of Lord Exmouth to right; on neck, A.D. in monogram. *Leg.* ED. PELLEW EQVES.  
VICECOMES EXMOVTH.

*Rev.*—Inscription in nine lines, SOCIETAS AD . PIRATAS . DELENDOS A . MDCCCXIV . INSTITUTE OB LIBERATOS A . BARBARORVM . VINCVLIS . EVROPAEOS ALGERIA . A . MDCCCXVI . OPPVGNATA SOCIO . VICECOMITI . EXMOVTH VICTORI . ET BENE-MERITO DECREVIT.

2-15. MB. Æ. Pl. III. 10.

The Society for the Suppression of Piracy and for the Liberation of Christian Slaves, which caused the medal to be struck, was formed in Paris in 1814, chiefly by the exertions of Sir Sidney Smith. Lord Exmouth appears to have been a member of it.

## ROBERT FELLOWES, LL.D., 1771—1847.

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE CLINICAL MEDICINE MEDAL, FOUNDED  
1880.

*Obv.*—Winged and draped female figure (Science) with star above her head, flying to right; in left hand she holds a scroll, her right is raised to clouds. *Leg.* OCULIS MORTALIBUS NUBES OBDUCTAS DIMOVEBIT SCIENTIA. BENJN. WYON SC.

*Rev.*—Within laurel wreath, inscription in four lines, MERUIT . . . DEDIT ROBERTUS FELLOWES ΦΙΛΑΛΗΘΗΣ. Below, HAMLET.

1-65. MB. Æ.

Robert Fellowes, born at Shottisham Hall, Norfolk, in 1771, was educated at St. Mary Hall, Oxford; took orders in 1795, and wrote many religious publications, but gradually quitted the doctrines of the Established Church, and adopted the opinions maintained in his work, entitled *The Religion of the Universe*. He was the intimate friend of Dr. Parr and of Baron Maseres; the latter gave substantial proof of his affection by leaving Fellowes nearly £200,000. Dr. Fellowes was an ardent supporter of the London University, now the University College, Gower Street, where he founded the two Fellowes' gold medals for proficiency in clinical medicine. Died 6th February, 1847.

## SAMUEL FEREDAY.

PEACE OF PARIS, 1814.

1. *Obv.*—Peace holding olive-branch and cornucopie standing to left on a globe inscribed EUROPE; sun rising in the distance; on right, n. (J. G. Hancock). *Leg.* ON EARTH PEACE, GOOD WILL TO MEN. In the exergue, SUCCESS TO THE COAL, LIME, & IRON TRADES.

*Rev.*—Within laurel wreath, inscription in eleven lines,  
IN COMMEMORATION OF THE DEFINITIVE  
TREATY OF PEACE AND AMITY  
BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND FRANCE  
SIGNED AT PARIS MAY 30 1814. Around,  
PRESENTED AT ETTINGSHALL PARK BY  
SAM<sup>L</sup>. FEREDAY & PARTNERS JULY 7,  
1814.

1.75. MB. Æ.

Ettingshall Park is situated near Sedgley, in Staffordshire. It belonged to the Petit family, but at the time of the striking of the above medal was occupied by Samuel Fereday. The estate contained great quantities of lime-stone and iron-stone, which appears to have been worked by Fereday and others. On the 7th July, 1814, Fereday feasted all the miners and workmen in his employ to celebrate the signing of the Peace of Paris, and on the occasion a specimen of the above medal was presented to each person present.

#### MEMORIAL, 1815.

2. *Obv.*—Bust of Fereday to left, in coat, &c.; below, P.  
WYON, SCULPT. *Leg.* SAMUEL FEREDAY.

*Rev.*—Within oak wreath, inscription in three lines, A  
FRIEND TO HIS COUNTRY.

MB. 2. Æ.

Of Fereday I have not been able to find any further particulars than those noticed in regard to the previous medal.

#### ROBERT FERGUSON. Died, 1840.

*Obv.*—Head of Ferguson to left; below, BAIN. F.

*Rev.*—Inscription in twelve lines, A TRIBUTE OF  
RESPECT TO ROBERT FERGUSON, OF

RAITH, M.P. F.R.S. F.G.S. &c. PATRON  
OF SCIENCE LITERATURE AND ART  
1886.

195. MB. Æ.

Robert Ferguson of Raith, the representative of an ancient family, represented Fifeshire in Parliament in 1806, the Kirkaldy district of Burghs in 1831, and in 1835 was returned for Haddingtonshire. At the general election of 1837 he was defeated by Lord Ramsay, and returned by the Kirkaldy division of Burghs. He was a cordial supporter of the measures of the Whig Government. At the time of his death he was Lord-Lieutenant of the county of Fife. He was also a member of several learned societies; but though he does not appear to have published any scientific memoirs, he was eminent as an enthusiastic patron of science, and an encourager of knowledge of every description. Mineralogy, geology, and the fine arts were his favourite pursuits.

GENERAL SIR RONALD CRAWFORD FERGUSON,  
1773—1841.

MEMORIAL, 1880.

1. *Obv.*—Head of Ferguson to left; below, RAIN. F.

*Rev.*—Inscription in five lines, GENERAL SIR R. C.  
FERGUSON K.C.B. M.P. — MDCCCXXX;  
rosette above and below.

85. MB. Æ.

Sir Ronald Crawford Ferguson, second son of William Ferguson, of Raith, entered the army as an ensign at the age of seventeen, and served his country in almost every quarter of the globe. He commanded in Flanders in 1793, when he was promoted to a captaincy, led the

flank corps at the taking of the Cape of Good Hope in 1795, and was present at its recapture at the head of the Highland Brigade. In 1804 he was made Brigadier-General, with the command of the York district, and afterwards served in Spain under Wellington with great distinction, receiving the special thanks of the House of Commons for his bravery at the battles of Rodica and Vimiera. He was second in command in Holland in 1814, when he was made a K.C.B., was presented to the rank of General in 1830, an event commemorated by the above medal, and sat as M.P. for Fife Burghs from 1806—1826, and for Nottingham from 1830 till his death. On the death of his brother Robert in 1840 (see previous medal) he succeeded to the Raith estates, but died in the following year.

MEMORIAL, 1883.

2. *Obv.*—Head of Ferguson to right; below, BAIN. F.

*Rev.*—Within laurel wreath, inscription in seven lines,  
TO GENERAL SIR R. C. FERGUSON K.C.B.  
M.P. MDCCCXXXIII—W. BAIN.—Around, LET  
GRATEFUL ART RECORD THE PATRIOT'S  
NAME.

1.9. MB. Æ. Pl. III. 11.

RIGHT HON. ROBERT CUTLAR FERGUSSON, 1768—1838.

RELIEF OF POLAND, 1832.

*Obv.*—Head of Fergusson to left; below, WL. OLESZCZYN-  
SKI. F. *Leg.* NEC DEERUNT QVI MEMI-  
NERINT MEL.

*Rev.*—Within oak wreath joined at base by the shields of  
Poland and Russia (?), inscription in ten lines,  
ROBERTO CUTLAR FERGUSSON CANDIDO  
AC TENACI JURIS GENTIUM PROPUGNA-  
TORI VI OPPRESSA GENIO SUPERSTES  
POLONIA DICAVIT M.D.CCC.XXXII.

2. MB. Æ.

Robert Cutlar Fergusson, eldest son of Alexander Fergusson, of Craigdarrock, Dumfriesshire, was called to the Bar at Lincoln's Inn in 1797, and two years afterwards was tried, in company with the Earl of Thanet, for an alleged attempt to assist the escape of O'Connor during his trial for treason at Maidstone in 1798. For this act he was confined in the Queen's Bench for twelve months. Soon after his release Fergusson emigrated to Calcutta, where he practised as a barrister, and, returning home in 1826, he stood in the Liberal interest for the Stewartry of Kircudbright, and was successful by a majority of one. He vigorously supported all Liberal measures, and his public career was particularly marked by his eloquent and energetic advocacy of the cause of Poland. In 1834 he was made Judge-Advocate-General, and on July 16th was sworn a privy councillor. He went out of office and returned with Lord Melbourne.

In 1832, when the above medal was struck, great interest was taken throughout the country in the cause of Poland, which had been so harshly treated by Russia, and various societies were formed with a view to effect some relief to the Poles.

#### ADAM FERRIE AND OTHERS.

RIGHT OF WAY ON THE BANKS OF THE CLYDE VINDICATED,  
1829.

*Obv.*—Britannia, standing in front of a column and near Justice holding scales, presents a sword to knight in armour, who holds shield of Glasgow with left hand and rests his foot on figure of "Tyranny"; in the foreground, river-god reclining on urn; above head of Britannia flies a figure of Fame holding scroll inscribed DEFEND YOUR RIGHTS; in the background, view of the Clyde.

*Rev.*—Above united branches of thistle and laurel, inscription in twelve lines, THE CITIZENS OF GLASGOW TO ADAM FERRIE GEO. ROGERS JAS. DUNCAN IN<sup>o</sup> WATSON JUN<sup>r</sup> IN<sup>o</sup> WHITEHEAD—FOR SUCCESSFULLY DEFENDING THEIR RIGHT TO A PATH ON THE BANKS OF THE CLYDE, 1829. In semicircle above, THE REWARD OF PUBLIC SPIRIT.

1.75. MB. Æ.

This medal was struck to commemorate the successful vindication to the public right of way on the banks of the Clyde.

SIR JOHN FIELDING, KNT., d. 1780.

TRIBUTE TO, 1774.

*Obv.*—Bust of Fielding nearly facing, draped. *Leg.* IOHANNES . FIELDING . EQVES . 1774.

*Rev.*—Inscription in six lines, CAECVS LATENTES SCRVTATVR . SENEX VIOLENTOS COERCET.

1.4 × 1.25. MB. Æ.

John Fielding was half-brother of Henry Fielding, the novelist, and his associate and successor in the office of justice for Westminster, in which, though blind from his youth, he acted with great sagacity and activity for many years. He was knighted in 1761, and died at Brompton Place, September 4th, 1780. His published works comprise, *An Account of the Effects of a Police*; *Extracts from the Penal Laws relating to Peace*; *The Universal Mentor, containing Essays on the most Important Subjects of Life*; *Charges to the Grand Juries, &c.*

There is a variety of this medal (MB. Æ.), with the bust only on the obverse, and no inscription on the reverse.

WILLIAM WENTWORTH, FOURTH EARL FITZWILLIAM,  
1748—1833.

MEMORIAL, 1819.

*Obv.*—Bust of Earl Fitzwilliam to left, in coat with fur collar, &c. *Leg.* THE R<sup>T</sup> HON. EARL FITZWILLIAM. WILSON F.

*Rev.*—Inscription in fourteen lines, HEIR TO THE VIRTUES AS WELL AS TO THE ESTATES OF HIS UNCLE CHARLES, MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM, AND NOT MORE NEARLY ALLIED TO HIM BY PROXIMITY OF BLOOD THAN BY SIMILARITY OF MANNERS. — HE GOVERNED IRELAND IN PEACE, A.D. 1795, AND WAS LORD LIEUTENANT OF THE WEST-RIDING OF YORKSHIRE FROM 1798 TO 1819.

2-2. MB. Æ.

William, fourth Earl Fitzwilliam, was the eldest son of the third Earl. He was educated at Eton and King's College, Cambridge. He commenced his Parliamentary career as a determined opponent to the American war, and afterwards strongly supported the administration of his uncle, the Marquess of Rockingham. He was President of the Council in 1794, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland in the following year, but his recall speedily ensued, and Lord-Lieutenant of the West Riding of Yorkshire in 1798, from which he was dismissed in 1819 for having attended a meeting at York to petition in favour of an inquiry into the conduct of the Manchester magistrates. During the brief ascendancy of the Whigs in 1806 he filled the office of President of the Council. He was a strong supporter of Catholic emancipation. He died February 8th, 1833.

The above medal was probably struck in 1819, Lord Fitzwilliam being very popular with all classes on account of his public spirit and his numerous generous actions.



## JOHN FLAXMAN, R.A., 1755—1826.

## MEMORIAL, 1826.

*Obv.*—Head of Flaxman to left; behind, FLAXMAN; on neck, A. J. STOTHARD. F; below, E. H. BAILEY R.A.D. All within floral wreath.

*Rev.*—Female figure resting against column; on which rests her hand holding scroll inscribed, TO GREAT MEN, and in her right hand pen; below, PUBD. BY S. PARKER LONDON MDCCCXXVI. T. STOTHARD R.A.D. A. J. STOTHARD F.

245. MB. Æ.

This is one of a series of medallie portraits of eminent men issued by A. J. Stothard in 1826. Others exist of Canning, Sir Walter Scott, Watt, Lord Byron, &c.

John Flaxman, the eminent designer and sculptor, born at York, the son of a moulder of figures, became a student of the Royal Academy, and within twelve months was awarded its silver medal. He first worked for Wedgwood and others, but in 1787 went to Rome, and whilst there produced his well-known outlines from Homer and Dante, engraved by Piroli in 1793. He was elected an A.R.A. in 1797, a full member in 1808, and Professor of Sculpture in 1810. Of the numerous statues which he executed, those of Lord Mansfield in Westminster Abbey, of Nelson, Howe, Kemble, and Sir Joshua Reynolds in St. Paul's, are the best known.

## GEORGE FORDYCE AND JOHN HUNTER.

LONDON MEDICAL LYCEUM, PRIZE MEDAL, 1785.

*Obv.*—Heads of Fordyce and Hunter to left; below, I. MILTON. F. Leg. GEORGIVS. FORDYCE. ET. IOANNES. HVNTER. PATRONI.

*Rev.*—A serpent erect casting its slough. *Leg.* RENOVANDO VIGET. Below, LYCEVM . MEDICVM . I.M.F. TOWER.

1.7. MB. R.

I have not been able to find any particulars of this Institution, of which Fordyce and Hunter were patrons. The former (A.D. 1736—1802) was the well-known physician of St. Thomas's Hospital; the latter (d. 1809), the physician extraordinary to the Prince of Wales. Both were Fellows of the Royal Society, and contributed to medical literature.

JOHN FOTHERGILL, M.D., 1711—1780.

MEDICAL SOCIETY'S PRIZE MEDAL, FOUNDED 1787.

*Obv.*—Bust of Fothergill to right, in tie-wig and close-buttoned coat; on shoulders, L. P. F. (Louis Pingo fecit). *Leg.* IOHANNES FOTHERGILL MEDICVS EGREGIVS AMICIS CARVS OMNIVM AMICVS.

*Rev.*—Within laurel wreath, in which are entwined two serpents, MEDICINÆ & SCIENTIÆ NATURALIS INCREMENTO. Above, DON . SOC . MED . LOND . AN . SALVT . 1778 . INSTIT.

1.9. MB. N. Æ. Pl. III. 12.

John Fothergill, physician, born at Carr End, Yorkshire, was apprenticed to an apothecary at Bradford, after which he removed to London and studied at St. Thomas's Hospital. He next went to Edinburgh, and there took his degree. After visiting Leyden, France, and Germany, Fothergill settled in London, and soon acquired a most extensive and lucrative practice. He devoted much of his time to chemistry and botany, and, having purchased an estate near Stratford, in Essex,

cultivated a garden, which was known all over Europe as possessing a great number of the rarest plants. He was a Fellow of the Royal Society and of the Society of Antiquaries, and one of the founders of the Medical Society of London.

The above medal was founded in 1787 in commemoration of Dr. Fothergill. It is awarded annually to the author of the best dissertation on a subject proposed by the Society, for which "the learned of all countries were invited as candidates." The medal is adjudged on the 8th day of March, that being Dr. Fothergill's birthday; and the first one was awarded, in 1787, to Dr. William Falconer, of Bath.

### CHARLES JAMES FOX, 1749—1806.

#### TRIBUTE TO, 1789.

1. *Obv.*—Bust of Fox nearly facing, in tie-wig, coat, &c.  
*Leg.* THE RIGHT HON. CHA<sup>s</sup>. JA<sup>s</sup>. FOX.

*Rev.*—Inscription in seven lines, THE FREE AND INDEPENDENT ELECTORS OF WESTMINSTER 1789.

185. MB. ST.

Charles James Fox, statesman, younger son of Henry, first Lord Holland, was educated at Eton and Hertford College, Oxford, and at the age of nineteen was returned to Parliament for Midhurst. He held subordinate offices in the administration of Lord North, from whom, however, he soon separated, and, joining the Opposition, harassed the Ministry throughout the American war. In 1780 he was elected for Westminster, which city he continued, with but a slight interruption, to represent till his death. In the Ministry of Lord Rockingham, in the spring of 1782,

Fox became Foreign Secretary ; but, resigning on the death of his chief in the following July, formed, in 1783, his celebrated coalition with Lord North, resuming his former office of Foreign Secretary. The failure of the India Bill was fatal to the Ministry, and, on Pitt assuming the reins of Government, Fox remained out of office for over twenty-two years, consoling himself with the pursuits of scholarship, and with delivering masterly speeches against his opponents. After the death of Pitt in January, 1806, Fox again returned to office, but his health failing, he expired at Chiswick in the following year.

It is difficult to assign any special reason for the striking of the above medal. The only important question which rose during the year 1789 was that of the regency, on account of the serious illness of the king. Fox asserted "that the Prince of Wales had as clear, as express a right to assume the reins of Government as in the case of the king's natural and perfect demise." Fox thinking he should carry his point against Pitt went so far as to make out a list of a new Administration ; but the whole affair fell through, as the king quite unexpectedly recovered. Early in the year the Bastile fell, an event which met with Fox's favour, as he wrote to Fitzpatrick, 30th July, 1789 : "How much the greatest event it is that ever happened in the world, and how much the best !"

#### TRIBUTE TO, 1789.

2. *Obv.*—Bust of Fox, similar to the preceding, but with coat buttoned. *Leg.* In two semicircles, GLORY BE THINE INTREPID FOX FIRM AS OLD ALBIONS—BATTER'D ROCKS.

*Rev.*—Inscription in seven lines, within wreath of oak and laurel, RESISTLESS SPEAKER FAITHFUL GUIDE THE COURTIER'S DREAD THE PATRIOTS PRIDE. On edge, MANUFACTURED BY W. LUTWYCHE BIRMINGHAM.

1.35. MB. Æ (two varieties).

There are two other varieties of the above medal. One (MB. Æ.) reads BATTERD for BATTER'D; the other (MB. ST.) has no inscription on the reverse, and reads ALBIENS for ALBIONS, and PATRIOT<sup>S</sup> for PATRIOTS, and has no inscription on the edge.

#### WAR WITH FRANCE, 1794.

3. *Obv.*—Bust of Fox to right, in tie-wig and coat; below, JAMES. *Leg.* R<sup>T</sup>. H<sup>E</sup>. C. J. FOX.

*Rev.*—Oak-tree, against which rest two shields, one bearing scales and sword; the other, cap of liberty on staff and banner within wreath. *Leg.* A. FRIEND. TO. PEACE. AND. LIBERTY. JACOBS.

1.15. MB. Æ.

In January, 1794, Fox moved an amendment to the address recommending peace. Throughout the previous year he had opposed Pitt in his active measures against France, taking up the position that the war was an unjustifiable attempt to interfere with the internal affairs of another nation.

#### WAR WITH FRANCE, 1794.

4. *Obv.*—Bust of Fox, similar to the preceding; below, WHITLEY. F. *Leg.* CAROLUS JACOBUS FOX.

*Rev.*—Envy seated in clouds; behind which, sun; above, hand holding flaming sword. *Leg.* VIDET INVIDIA ET ÆGROTAT.

1.2. MB. ST.

On account of the decided opposition of Fox to the war in this year he was separated from his former allies, became unpopular with a large part of the nation, and found himself in a hopeless minority in Parliament. Fox preserved his cheerful nature; there was nothing small in his nature, and he felt no envy. The envy inferred by this medal is intended, therefore, to apply to his opponents.

FOX AND PITT SATIRIZED, 1795.

5. *Obv.*—Janiform head with faces of Fox to right and of Pitt to left. *Leg.* ODD . FELLOWS . QUIS RIDES.

*Rev.*—Heart on open hand within wreath; above, HON-OUR; below, JAMES.

1.1. MB. Æ.

This medal refers to the strong rivalry which existed between Fox and Pitt. The type of the reverse is still more satirical than that of the obverse, the hand and heart being the sign of the Fleet Marriage.

FOX, PITT, AND GEORGE III. SATIRIZED, 1795.

6. *Obv.*—Janiform head with faces of Fox and Pitt, &c., as on preceding.

*Rev.*—Janiform head, with face of George III. to left, and that of an ass to right. *Leg.* ODD \* FELLOWS \* A MILLION HOGG, 1795 A GUINEA FIG.

1.15. MB. Æ.

The spirit of revolution, so strong at this time in France, spread itself into England, and the flame was fanned by the policy of Fox. Revolutionary societies were established, many of which were in favour of the abolition of the Monarchy and the establishment of a

Republic, the former being considered an unnecessary and expensive institution.

OPPOSITION TO THE UNION WITH IRELAND, 1800.

7. *Obv.*—Bust of Fox to right, in tie-wig, and drapery over shoulders ; on truncation, HANCOCK. *Leg.* CHARLES JAMES FOX. BORN JANUARY 13 1749.

*Rev.*—Within wreath of laurel and oak, inscription in eleven lines, WITH LEARNING ELOQUENCE AND ZEAL HE MAINTAINS THE RIGHTS OF A FREE AND LOYAL PEOPLE 1800. Below, STK. BY P. K. (Peter Kempson).

2.1. MB. Æ.

Fox was much opposed to the proposed union with Ireland brought forward by the Government, declaring that it was an attempt to establish the principles as well as the practice of despotism, and that a scheme of federation would be preferable. He, however, declined to attend any debates on this question, but attacked it with his pen, condemning the Irish policy of the Ministers, disapproving of their proposal to compensate Irish borough-holders, and warmly vindicated the character of the Irish people.

DEATH, 1806.

8. *Obv.*—Bust of Fox draped to left ; on truncation, P. W. F. (Peter Wyon fecit). Inner *Leg.* CHARLES JAS. FOX. Outer *Leg.* + THIS ILLUSTRIOUS PATRIOT, DEPARTED THIS LIFE + SEPTEMBER 13, A.D. 1806. ÆT. 57 +

*Rev.*—Inscription in nine lines, INTREPID CHAMPION OF FREEDOM, ENLIGHTENED ADVOCATE OF PEACE: NOT BORN FOR HIMSELF, BUT FOR THE UNIVERSE.

2.05. MB. Æ. ST.

Towards the end of May, 1806, Fox's health became much impaired. His last important political act was the moving of the abolition of the slave trade (10th June), when he declared that after forty years of political life he should feel that he could retire with contentment if he carried his motion. The disease from which he was suffering was found to be dropsy. Acting under advice, he was moved from London to the Duke of Devonshire's house at Chiswick, where he died on the 13th September. He was buried in Westminster Abbey, close to the grave of his great rival, Pitt.

## DEATH, 1806.

9. *Obv.*—Head of Fox to left. *Leg.* CHARLES JAMES FOX APPOINTED SECRETARY OF STATE FEBY. 11 1806.

*Rev.*—Within palm wreath, BORN JAN<sup>y</sup>. 13, 1749  
DIED SEPR<sup>r</sup>. 13, 1806. REVERED FOR  
TALENT FORTITUDE & PATRIOTISM.

1.5. MB. Æ.

## DEATH, 1806.

10. *Obv.*—Bust of Fox to right, in tie-wig and coat. *Leg.* CHARLES JAMES FOX.

*Rev.*—Within laurel wreath, and surrounded by stars,  
DIED 13 SEPTEMBER 1806 AGED 57.

1.55. MB. ST.

## DEATH, 1806.

11. *Obv.*—Bust of Fox to right, draped ; on truncation, WEBB.  
*Leg.* C. I. FOX OB. SEP. XIII MDCCCVI.

*Rev.*—Angel standing facing on globe and holding wreath  
in each outstretched hand. *Leg.* LIBERTATIS  
HVMANITATISQVE VINDEX.

2.1. MB. Æ. Pl. III. 13.



## DEATH, 1806.

12. *Obv.*—Bust of Fox to right, draped ; below, THOMASON & JONES D. *Leg.* R<sup>T</sup>. HONOURABLE CHARLES JAMES FOX.

*Rev.*—Angel standing facing on globe, &c., same as the preceding.

2.1. MB. Æ.

## MEMORIAL.

13. *Obv.*—Bust of Fox to right, in coat, &c. ; below, WOLF. F. *Leg.* C. JACOBUS FOX.

*Rev.*—Inscription in ten lines, NATUS IN ANGLIA  
OBIIT LONDINO AN. M.DCCC.VI. SERIES  
NUMISMATICA UNIVERSALIS VIRORUM ILLUSTRIUM  
M.DCCC.XXIII. DURAND FECIT.

1.65. MB. Æ.

This is one of the large series of medals of illustrious men of all countries, issued by Durand, in Paris, between 1820—1846.

## BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, 1706—1790.

DEGREE OF LL.D. CONFERRED AT EDINBURGH, 1757.

1. *Obv.*—Bust of Franklin to left, in wig and coat. *Leg.* BEN<sup>N</sup>. FRANKLIN L. L. D.

*Rev.*—Plain.

1.45. MB. Æ.

Benjamin Franklin, philosopher, politician, and philanthropist, born at Boston, New England, the son of a tallow-chandler, worked for some years as a journeyman printer, and, about 1728, established himself as a book-seller in Philadelphia. Though actively engaged in political affairs connected with the State of Pennsylvania,

he devoted much time to scientific investigations, and established the identity of lightning and electricity. On his appearance in England in 1757, as agent for Pennsylvania, he received the degree of Doctor of Laws, at St. Andrew's, Edinburgh, and Oxford, and, without solicitation, was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society, having, in 1753, received the Copley medal. He took an active part in the contest between the mother country and her colonies; and, as Commissioner for the United States, signed the Treaty of Independence at Paris in 1783. He was made Governor of Pennsylvania in 1785, and died 17th April, 1790, his countrymen marking their loss by a public mourning for two months.

The above medal was probably struck to commemorate Franklin's receiving the degree of LL.D. from the University of Edinburgh. Though not signed, it appears to be an unfinished work of William Mossop, Senr.

#### INQUIRY OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL, 1774.

2. *Obv.*—Bust of Franklin facing, head turned to left, wearing cap. *Leg.* B. FRANKLIN OF PHILADELPHIA LL.D. & F.R.S.

*Rev.*—Yew-tree struck by lightning. *Leg.* NON IRRITA FULMINA CURAT. In the exergue, 1774 + 18. MB. Æ. Pl. III. 14.

This medal was struck during Franklin's visit to England, having been appointed in 1764 to resume his agency at the court of Great Britain. It probably refers to the inquiry made by the Privy Council relative to some political papers which had been clandestinely furnished to him, and which he forwarded to America, where they were published. He was in consequence dismissed from his office of Deputy Postmaster-General of Pennsylvania

and severely censured. He was now looked upon by the Government with considerable jealousy, and it was proposed to arrest him upon the charge of fomenting a rebellion; but, being apprised of this intention, he contrived to leave England secretly in March, 1775.

### MEMORIAL, 1786.

3. *Obv.*—Bust of Franklin to left, hair long. *Leg.* BENJ. FRANKLIN NATUS BOSTON. XVII JAN. MDCCVI.

*Rev.*—Inscription within oak wreath, ERIPUIT COELO FULMEN SCEPTRUM QUE TYRANNIS. Below, SCULPSIT ET DICAVIT AUG. DUPRÉ ANNO MDCCCLXXXVI.

1·8. MB. Æ.

This medal, made in Paris, refers to the success which attended Franklin's exertions to accomplish the emancipation of the United States from the mother country, culminating in the Treaty of Independence signed in Paris in 1783; and also to his electrical investigations, especially as regards the identity between lightning and electricity, which fact he effectually established in 1752. He had long entertained the bold idea of ascertaining the truth of this doctrine by actually drawing lightning from the clouds; and at length it occurred to him that he might procure communication between them and the earth by means of a common kite. With this simple apparatus he awaited the approach of a thunder-cloud, and the kite was raised, but no sign of electricity appeared. His suspense and anxiety were almost insupportable, when suddenly he observed the loose fibres of the string to move. He presented his knuckle to the key by which it was held, and received a strong spark. Repeated sparks were

drawn from the key, a phial was charged, a shock given, and the brilliant discovery placed upon an immutable basis.

### AUGUSTUS WOLLASTON FRANKS, C.B.

JETON, 1884.

*Obv.*—Shield, arms of Franks of Woodhill; *vert*, on a saltire *or*, a torteau; around, arabesques. *Leg.* AVG. W. FRANKS, M.A. F.R.S. ✠ 1884 ✠

*Rev.*—Crest, falcon charged with the torteau on the breast on oak-trunk with branch. *Leg.* CONTEMNIT. VULNERA . VIRTUS.

1-15. MB. *N.* (Unique.) Pl. III. 15.

This jeton bears the arms, crest, name, and motto of Mr. Franks, the present Keeper of British and Mediæval Antiquities in the British Museum. The dies were made by Mr. Allan Wyon. It is similar in design to counters struck by Thomas Sackville Lord Buckhurst, Sir Robert Cecil, and other officers of state in 1603, a description of which will be found in the *Medallie Illustrations*, vol. i., pp. 188—191, published by the Trustees of the British Museum.

### JOHN FULLER, 1757—1834.

BODIAM CASTLE, 1828.

1. *Obv.*—View of Bodiam Castle. *Leg.* BODIAM CASTLE SUSSEX.

*Rev.*—Inscription in eight lines, BODIAM CASTLE BUILT BY THE DALYNGRIG FAMILY IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY NOW IN THE POSSESSION OF JOHN FULLER ESQ<sup>r</sup>. OF ROSE HILL MDCCCXXX.

2-05. MB. *Æ*.

Bodiam Castle is situated at a low spot in the valley of the Rother; Sussex. It was built by Sir Edwin

Dalyngrige, during the reign of Richard II., from the fruits of marauding expeditions made into France. The king's license for the erection of the castle is dated October 20, 1386. During the civil war the castle was entirely dismantled by the rebels, and nothing was left except the bare *enceinte* or external walls and towers. It passed through various hands, and came into the hands by purchase of John Fuller in 1828. It has recently again been sold to Mr. George Cubitt, who carefully preserves the venerable pile.

#### DEATH, 1834.

2. *Obv.*—Bust of Fuller to right, in coat; on truncation, w.  
WYON A.R.A. *Leg.* JOHN FULLER ESQ<sup>r</sup>. ROSE  
HILL SUSSEX.

*Rev.* — Within oak wreath, DIED, APRIL XI  
MDCCCXXXIV, AGED LXXVIII.

1-8. MB. Æ.

John Fuller, the grandson of Thomas Fuller, the builder of Rose Hill, sat in Parliament for Southampton in 1780, and subsequently for the county of Sussex in 1801, being returned for this latter district on three subsequent occasions. In 1810 he was reprimanded by the Speaker for disorderly conduct, and, having refused to obey the chair, was forcibly ejected from the House of Commons, and imprisoned for two days. After this memorable scene he was not returned to another Parliament. Fuller was distinguished through life by much eccentricity, but it was mingled with a kind heart that displayed itself in deeds of princely magnificence. In politics he was a Whig and supported Fox, and he is said to have indignantly refused the offer of a peerage from Pitt, deeming it a trial of his integrity, declaring, "I was born Jack Fuller, and Jack Fuller I will die."

H. A. GRUEBER.

## NOTICES OF RECENT NUMISMATIC PUBLICATIONS.

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The *Revue Numismatique*, Vol. viii., 3rd Series, 1890, contains the following articles:—

1. VERCOUTRE (Dr. A.). Aureus, struck by P. Clodius, with the head of M. Antony.
2. MAXE-WERLY (L.). Merovingian Coins. Hoard of Saint-Aubin (Meuse).
3. EARLE-FOX (H. B.). Note on some rare or unpublished Attic Coins.
4. MOWAT (R.). *Piavonius*, Family name of the Emperor Victorinus. *Pius*, Surname of the Tetrici.
5. DE WITTE (A.). A new Mint of Artois. Coins struck by Philippe de Saint-Pol at Ruminghem and Elincourt.
6. GUIFFREY (J.). Coins of Constantine and Heraclius, acquired by Jean Duc de Berry in 1402.
7. PROU (M.). Inventory of the Merovingian coins from the Amécourt Collection, acquired by the Bibliothèque Nationale.
8. VALLENTIN (R.). An Unpublished Coronation *dénier* of Charles VIII., struck at Marseilles.
9. REINACH (TH.). On the Chronology and the Number of the Neocories of Cyzicus. The writer shows that Cyzicus was only twice neocorate, the first time under Hadrian, and the second time under Caracalla. The third neocory, usually assigned to the reign of Gallienus, rests upon a wrong reading of a coin in the Hunter collection.
10. PROU (M.). Inventory of the Merovingian coins from the Amécourt Collection (continued).
11. DROUIN (E.). Note on some bilingual Sassanian coins.
12. HEISS (A.). Note on the portraits of Gonsalva de Cordova, 1443-1515.
13. VERCOUTRE (A.). The Types of the Coins with the Head of Sol, struck by Manius Aquillius and Publius Clodius.
14. BLANCHET (J. A.). Bronze Medallion of the Emperor Hadrian.
15. ENGEL (A.). Numismatic *Souvenirs* of a voyage round the world. Siam and the Malay Archipelago.
16. BAPELON (E.). Alabanda and Antioch, cities of Caria. An interesting *résumé* of all that is known of the history of these cities, the coins of which must be carefully distinguished. As

Alabanda bore for a short time, B.C. 197-189, the name of Antioch and struck coins, some with **ΑΛΑΒΑΝΔΕΩΝ**, others with **ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ**, it is not surprising if some numismatists have attributed the latter to Antioch on the Mæander, notwithstanding the fact that in some cases the coins bear identical magistrates' names. The silver coins of Antioch on the Mæander are to be distinguished from those of Alabanda under the name of Antioch, by the presence of the Mæander pattern on the reverse. The tetradrachm of Antiochia ad Mæandrum—*obv.* Head of Zeus, *rev.* Eagle on fulmen, within circular Mæander pattern, figured on Pl. X., No. 9, is a recent and important acquisition of the Bibliothèque Nationale.

17. RONDOT (N.). The Mint of Vimy, or Neuville, in the Lyonnais.

18. CARON (E.). Semi-royal coins struck at Puy. A *dénier* of Chateauvillain, Sire de Bourbon-Lancy.

19. HEISS (A.). Jean de Candida, Medallist and Diplomatist under Louis XI., Charles VIII., and Louis XII.

20. BLANCHET (J. A.). Remarks on the Signs engraved on the Contorniates.

The *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, Band XVII., contains the following articles :

1. LÖBBECKE (A.). Greek Coins from his Collection. Part IV. The coins usually attributed to Arnae in Macedon are here assigned to an unknown town in Southern Italy, beginning with the letters **NAP** . . . . Among other remarkable coins are a fine tetradrachm (297 grs.) of Dicaea in Thrace; a tetradrachm of Chalcis in Euboea—*obv.* Flying eagle, holding serpent—*rev.* **ΑΑΥ** between the spokes of a wheel in an incuse triangle; a gold coin of Sicyon, wt. 47 grs., the obverse of which, a head of Apollo, is from the same die as the specimen in the Paris collection, the authenticity of which was doubted by Prof. Gardner. Silver staters of Elis, Argos, and Phaestus; two new gold staters of Lampsacus, with heads of Zeus and Aktaeon; an archaic electrum stater of Cyzicus, type, cock to r., symbol in front, the head of a tunny; the writer attributes this coin, erroneously, we think, to Dardanus; Ilium, a coin of the younger Faustina—*rev.* Apollo **Ἑκατος**, leaning on his tripod; also one of Commodus, with Ganymede standing before an eagle with outstretched wings; a curious coin of Baris of Sépt. Severus, *rev.* a two-headed Herakles, armed with club, bow, and lion's skin; a coin of the town of Cestrus, on the coast of Sicilia Tracheia—*obv.* bust of Faustina, jun., *rev.* **ΚΕΤΡΗΗΩΝ** Tyche; no coins of this place were

previously known; interesting imperial coins of Colybrassus, Coracesium, Mopsus, and Selinus, in Cilicia; a coin of Treb. Gallus, struck at Cadi, in Phrygia, with the agonistic inscription **CEBACTA OMOBΩMIA**, prize urn and palm on table; a coin of Ceretape, with a bust of the youthful Caracalla, accompanied by his original name Bassianus; coins of Cibyra, Fulvia, Hyrgalea, Philomelium, Sebaste, and Hierocharax, under the name Siocharax; of Sidon as a Roman colony; a fine gold octadrachm of Arsinoë Philopator, and an Alexandrian coin of Trajan, with a standing Demeter on the reverse of fine style.

2. BUCHENAU (H.). Impressions of Bracteates on Church Bells at Verden.

3. SEECK (O.). The Currency Regulations of Diocletian and his Successors. This article is an important contribution to the history of the coinage of the empire, as reorganized by Diocletian. Since the publication of Mommsen's *History of the Roman Coinage* many new facts have come to light which necessarily involve considerable modifications of his theories. Among these are the new fragment of the Edict of Diocletian, recently published in the *Bulletin de Correspondance hellénique* IX., p. 231, Missong's discovery of marks of value on the gold coins of the Tetrarchy, and Hettner's review of the issues of the mint of Trèves. The questions discussed by the author are too complicated to be here noticed.

4. ALEXI (S.). The Payment of the Earnest-Money for the Dutchy of Ehstland in the year 1846 and 1847.

5. BARDT (F.). On a Find of Brandenburg deniers at Reichen.

6. LÖBBECKE (A.). The Avola Find. Near the town of Avola, some three miles S.W. of Syracuse, about two years ago, while digging the foundations of a building the workmen unearthed, beneath a square stone, two small pots, one of which is said to have contained 33 gold coins and the other 150 silver coins. According to Herr Löbbecke's information, the gold coins consisted of 4 darics, 1 stater of Abydus of a hitherto unpublished type, Artemis riding on a stag—*rev.* eagle; 14 Lampsacene staters comprising as many as five types previously unknown; and 14 Syracusan ἑκατοντάλιτρα—*obv.* head of Arethusa; *rev.* Herakles strangling lion, all in fine preservation, and many of them new varieties. The silver coins consisted, for the most part, of Pegasus-staters and Corinthian drachms; but of these Herr Löbbecke is unfortunately not able to give a complete list. We congratulate the author upon the number of specimens in gold, no less than eight, which he has been fortunate enough to acquire for his own cabinet from this



splendid find. Some of the others have been purchased by the British Museum and by Canon Greenwell and have already been published in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, while others again have, we understand, passed into the cabinets of M. Waddington and Mr. Montagu.

7. PICK (B.). On some Greek Imperial Coins. The author discusses the date of Nero's visit to Greece, and points out that during his stay at Corinth the only duoviri in office were P. Memius Cleander and L. Rutilius Piso. The names of C. Julius Polyaenus, Ti. Claudius Optatus, and F. (or P) Domitius, cited by Head from Cohen, I., pp. 805-6, cannot belong to the same year. Dr. Pick also calls attention to a wrongly read coin of Nicaea, which in place of **ΘΕΩ ΤΕΛΕΣΦΟΡΩ ΝΙΚΑΙΕΙΣ** bears in reality the legend **ΕΠΙΦ(ανή) ΤΕΛΕΣ (φορον) ΝΙΚΑΙΕΙΣ**. A coin of Elaea in Aeolis reading **ΛΟΥΚΙΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ** belongs not to Lucius Cæsar, but to Lucius Verus. A coin of Antioch of Ant. Pius and M. Aurelius, with the reverse legend **ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΣΕΒ ΕΥΣΕ ΥΙΟΣ ΥΠΑ ΑΠΟ** is for the first time rightly explained as *Αὐρήλιος Καῖσαρ Σεβαστοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς υἱὸς ὑπάτος ἀποδεδειγμένος*, the title "consul designatus" shows that it was struck in A.D. 189. Cohen's reading **ΟCΤΑΛ (sic) Q. DESIG.** on a coin of Augustus of uncertain mint is corrected to **COS OCTAVO DESIG.**

8. STÜCKELBERG (A.). On the Use of Ancient Coins in Decorative Art.

9. FRIEDENSBURG (F.). On two finds of Déniers of the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries: (i.) the Olobok Find, and (ii.) the Frankenstein Find.

10. FRIEDENSBURG (F.). On the Numismatic History of Silesia in the Sixteenth Century.—The Silesian Coins of King Ferdinand struck before the year 1546, with Supplement (p. 282).

11. V. SALLET (A.). The Acquisitions of the Berlin Royal Coin Cabinet, 1888-1889. These consist of 32 Greek, 14 Roman, 3 Oriental, and 545 mediæval and modern coins. Among the Greek coins we may here mention a silver stater of Aëropus, King of Macedon, B.C. 397-392, the first which has been discovered—*obv.* young male head; *rev.* **ΑΕΡΟ[Π]Ο** horse walking: a bronze coin of the Thessalian people called Petthali, struck in the fourth century B.C.—*obv.* head of Zeus, *rev.* **ΠΕΤΘΑΛΩΝ** (retrograde) forepart of horse springing from rock, the only coin of this people which has come to light; a silver stater of Abydos, with the magistrate's name **[ΓΥ]ΛΛΙΠΠΟΞ** (or Kallippos as Dr. V. Sallet conjectures); a unique stater of Holmi on the coast of Cilicia—*obv.* Athena

standing crowned by Nike; rev. **OAMITIKON** Apollo standing; a very rare stater of the Cyprian kings, Stasioëus and Timochares (cf. Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 622). A square copper coin of Agathocleia, the wife of Strato I., with the head of Strato on the obverse, not that of Agathocleia, as Professor Gardner has called it in *B.M. Cat.*, p. 43, Nos. 1, 2.

The acquisitions in the Roman series comprise Aurei of Casca, with the head of M. Brutus on the obverse, of Didia Clara and of Uranius Antoninus, all three from the Ponton d'Amécourt collection.

12. **ALEXI (S.)**. On the Mint-Masters of the Guilds of the Cloth Merchants of the Calimala and of the Bankers in Florence.

13. **NÜTZEL (H.)**. On the Pinnow Find of Mehammadan Coins.

14. **DRESSSEL (H.)**. Titikazos. This town, which is only represented by one or two coins of the Imperial period, is conjecturally placed by Von Sallet in Pisidia or Phrygia, and by Löbbecke in Lydia. The writer of the present article, founding his arguments on various passages of the physician Galen (himself a native of Pergamum), is inclined to place the town somewhere on the coast between Pergamum and Smyrna. We believe that M. Waddington is also disposed to believe that Titikazos was in Mysia.

15. **SCHEUNER (R.)**. On a Find of "Groschen" in the Oberlausitz.

16. **DANNENBERG (H.)**. Coins of Pomerania and Mecklenburg.

B. V. HEAD.

**J. N. Svoronos**, *Numismatique de la Crète ancienne*. Part I. (text and plates). Macon, 1890.

A hearty welcome must be accorded to this substantial instalment of M. Svoronos's great work on the numismatics of ancient Crete. It consists of a complete *corpus* of the coins, arranged in chronological order under cities, the section devoted to each city being prefaced by a notice of its geographical situation, and of the principal events in its history. An atlas of thirty-five large plates, giving excellent photographs of one thousand and eighty-eight specimens, most adequately illustrates the coins. All who have read M. Svoronos's articles on Cretan Numismatics in the *Revue Numismatique*, and who have been aware of his long-continued study of Cretan money in all the chief coin-cabinets of Europe, will have entertained high expectations of his work on Crete, and they will not now be disappointed with the result of his labours.

We postpone a detailed notice of the work until the publication of the second and concluding part, which we trust will not be long delayed through M. Svoronos's new duties as Director of the Coin Cabinet at Athens. Part II. will consist of a commentary, geographical, historical, and mythological, and should prove of exceptional interest to archæologists as well as to numismatists. It should be added that M. Svoronos has also described and photographed a few important coins of Crete in the *Προσθήκαι* to his *Num. de la Crète anc.*, published in the *Ἐφημερίς* for 1889.

W. WROTH.

*Ephemeris archæologike*, 1890, p. 159. J. N. Svoronos.—*Ἀρχαῖα Ἑλληνικὰ νομίσματα*.

1. *Hebrutelmis, King of the Odrysæ*, B.C. 386-5. The name of this hitherto unknown ruler occurs in an inscription lately found on the Acropolis and published by Lolling. This fortunate discovery has enabled M. Svoronos to attribute for the first time correctly the uncertain bronze coins assigned by Imhoof to an unknown Thracian dynast named Eubr . . . (*Mon. Gr.* p. 461). There can be no longer any doubt that the coins read **EBPY** not **EYBP**, and that Hebrutelmis was a predecessor (not a successor) of Cotys I., dynast of Cypsela.

2. *Forged coins of Aermenaios, an imaginary Macedonian King*. In my review of the second volume of the catalogue of Greek coins in the Berlin Museum, *Num. Chron.*, 1890, p. 278, I remarked concerning the astonishing coin reading **AEP-MHNAO**, lately purchased by the Germans, that in view of the incongruity of style between the obverse and reverse (the obverse being in the style of the fourth century B.C., while the reverse is at least a century earlier), "the cautious enquirer will abstain from enrolling the name of Aermenaios among the Macedonian kings or dynasts." In the present treatise M. Svoronos adduces absolute proof of the correctness of my anticipations. The coin of Aermenaios is a barefaced forgery, nor is the German Coin-cabinet the only one which has been victimised by the clever Greek (if Greek he be) who has had the audacity to create an entirely new Macedonian king. The Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris has unluckily been deceived by the same shameless scoundrel. The coin which has been acquired by the authorities at Paris is, indeed, even less skilfully executed than the Berlin specimen, and most fortunately it is of a different type, and it enables us to trace step by step the way in which the forger produced his interesting pieces of handiwork. The

French coin is simply a copy by an ignorant and unskilful hand of a genuine coin of Sermyle similar to the one figured in *Num. Chron.*, 1890, Plate I, fig. 7, *obv.* galloping horseman accompanied by the legend **ΣΕΡΜΥΝΑΟ**[N]. This inscription has evidently been misread by the forger, who thought he saw **ΑΕΡΜΗΝΑΟ**. The attitude of the horseman, the pellet in the field, and the position of the legend are all identical on the French coin and on the original coin of Sermyle, as any one may see who will compare Nos. 21 and 22 on M. Svoronos's plate. Having thus established a legend **ΑΕΡΜΗΝΑΟ**, which reminded him in its termination of **ΑΡΧΕΛΑΟ**, the forger proceeded to copy a coin of Archelaus and to place upon it his newly invented inscription. This he accomplished not unskilfully, but he seems to have been blissfully ignorant of the necessity of providing his piece with a reverse in harmony with the date of his obverse. Instead of doing this he fell back upon an archaic coin of Potidæa, the sixth century reverse of which, an incuse square diagonally divided, he coupled with his fourth century obverse, thus producing an impossible combination of types (cf. Svoronos, figs. 25, 26, 27). I have only to add that the coin purchased at Berlin was offered in the first instance to the British Museum, where it was rejected as a modern fabrication.

3. *Kalchas and his Son on Coins of Calchedon.* M. Svoronos suggests that the bearded and youthful heads on the Attic drachms and hemidrachms of Calchedon, struck probably between B.C. 439 and 416, are those of Kalchas the seer, the founder of Megara, the mother city of Calchedon, and of his son who founded Calchedon itself. The wheel on the reverses of these coins he takes to be the κύκλος μαντικός, or soothsayer's wheel, which was placed on the tripod of Apollo.

B. V. HEAD.

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*The Historical Geography of Asia Minor.* By Professor W. M. Ramsay. London, 1890. John Murray.

Although this is not a numismatic work it is based to so large an extent upon numismatic evidence that we cannot pass it over without a word of welcome. It is far and away the most important contribution to our knowledge of the interior of Asia Minor in ancient times which has yet appeared, and it will be as indispensable to the student of the coinage of the Asiatic Greek-speaking peoples, especially during the period of Roman rule, as are Kiepert's valuable maps now in course of publication.

There is only one fault to be found with Prof. Ramsay's book, and this is its entire want of literary form, due in great part no doubt to the fact that the author most unaccountably lost the MS. of his work in 1888, and has, consequently, had to rewrite most of it from memory. However keenly we may regret the loss of Mr. Ramsay's descriptions of the country and scenery, which would have given picturesque life to what is now a bare congeries of topographical facts and evidential data, still the high intrinsic value of so much new and original matter is none the less strikingly apparent to the student of the ancient geography and history of Asia Minor.

How limited our knowledge is of the interior of that once-prosperous and well-governed continent can only be appreciated by those who are familiar with its innumerable municipal currencies, or who have bestowed some time and study upon the localisation of its ancient cities. We see towns marked upon the map and are at first naturally inclined to take for granted that they are rightly placed, forgetting that the map-maker is compelled by the very nature of his work to be definite, even in cases where conflicting evidence or want of exact information may leave the site of a town practically an open question. Hence the incalculable value of a work like the present in which the author details for us his *pièces justificatives*, drawn not only from the ordinary available authorities but from obscure Byzantine historians, from the *Acta Conciliorum*, the *Acta Sanctorum*, the *Notitiæ Episcopatum*, from the *Synecdemus* of Hierocles, and from numerous other ancient sources hitherto insufficiently utilised for the purpose to which this book is devoted.

Mr. Ramsay's own notes made on the spot from personal observation during his numerous journeys up the country enable him to speak with authority, and give even to what are sometimes guesses, a substantial value which the mere hypothesis of the arm-chair geographer, who works only from books, must always be lacking in, and which raises them almost to the level of ascertained facts. Prof. Ramsay's work consists of two parts, of which the first deals chiefly with the history and development of the ancient trade routes and later Roman roads, the main arteries of the country connecting the coast with the interior. In Part II. the author discusses in detail the sites of the cities and bishoprics of the various provinces. The book is provided with numerous tables, in the first column of which will be found the names of the towns as they occur upon the coins. There are also six excellent maps on the scale of about twenty-five miles to the inch, on which all the ancient trade routes and roads are indicated, together with the fixed sites of the cities

and villages and the boundaries of the Roman and Byzantine provinces.

B. V. HEAD.

*Catalogue des Monnaies Grecques de la Bibliothèque Nationale. Les Rois de Syrie, d'Arménie, et de Commagène.* By E. Babelon. Paris: Rollin et Feuardent, 1890, pp. ccxviii and 223, with 32 Plates.

The officials of the Numismatic Cabinet of Paris have followed the example of London and Berlin, and begun to publish a catalogue of their coins. The extraordinary richness of the French collection, probably the greatest in the world, would make this catalogue valuable in any case. But the value is increased by the character of the catalogue itself. In the volume before us M. Babelon has the privilege, not allowed to the author of the parallel volume of the British Museum series, of writing a full historical introduction to the coinage of the Greek Kings of Syria, and inserting engravings of all important coins not represented in the French Cabinet. The result is that his work is in a measure a *corpus* of the Syrian coins. His views are sometimes disputable, but the work is undeniably good on the whole, learned and judicious and full. M. Babelon also observes in the criticism of his predecessors a courtesy which some of our German contemporaries would do well to imitate. "Un peu trop prononcé" means much the same as "Sicher irrig," and is decidedly pleasanter reading.

It is impossible to discuss here the attributions of the numerous coins bearing the name Seleucus or Antiochus, and no date or distinctive title to determine to which of all the kings bearing those names they belong. Coming after writers like Bunbury and Imhoof, M. Babelon has every advantage; but no final or conclusive assignment is possible.

In the historical portion of the work M. Babelon has really made an advance. He has evidently re-read the late and unsatisfactory writers to whom we have to go for the facts of Syrian history, and in some cases has upset the views of Frölich, Eckhel or Fynes Clinton. Instances will be found in the case of the supposed captivity of Seleucus II. (p. lxxv) and the date of Antiochus VI. (p. cxxxv). It is satisfactory to find that his criticism has spared the most interesting class of money connected with the Kings of Syria, that issued in European Greece on the occasion of the invasion of Antiochus III. (see *Num. Chron.* 1878, p. 94).

P. GARDNER.

*Traité de Numismatique du Moyen Age.* By MM. Arthur Engel and Raymond Serrure. Paris. 1891.

The first volume of this new treatise from the facile pen of M. Engel, assisted by M. C. A. Serrure, forms a somewhat natural sequel to the *Repertoire des Sources imprimées de la Numismatique française* lately published by the same authors, and will, on its completion, constitute a much required continuation of the labours of Lelewel. These works, combined with the recent production of M. J. Adrien Blanchet, entitled *Manuel Complet de Numismatique du Moyen Age et Moderne*, afford us such materials and facilities for the study of mediæval numismatics as leave little or nothing to be desired for the future. The present volume is devoted to the examination of the coinage from the date of the fall of the Roman Empire in the West to the end of the Carolingian period, and contains no less than 645 illustrations of more than ordinary merit. Having regard to the importance that is now rightly attached to the morphological aspect of numismatic science, the whole of this exhaustive work demands careful perusal on the part of students in general; but English numismatists will probably take more direct interest in those chapters which relate to our own country and our own coinage. In the rapid survey of mediæval numismatics which serves as an introduction to the work, four English writers of the eighteenth century are referred to, viz., Fountaine, Stephen Martin Leake (whom the authors style St. Martin-Leake), Snelling, and Pegge, and a further reference is made to Ruding's "standard work" in the following century, the learned author being incidentally knighted under the style of Sir Rogers Ruding. The inaccuracies committed by the authors, which seem almost inevitable when our friends on the other side of the Channel deal with the names of English persons and places, are, however, very trifling compared with the general excellence of their work, in connection with which they appear to have studied most of our later authorities with great advantage. Their statement, however, that the conquest of Canute the Great had any very great influence on the art exhibited by our coinage is scarcely admissible. The list of extracts from the Psalms and other biblical sources occurring on mediæval coins is interesting, but as "Exaltabitur in Gloria" is given to Flanders only, it may be well to record that it is also the universal legend on the reverse of the quarter-noble of Edward III. and his successors.

Much useful information on the subject of money is supplied, and a theory is advanced with regard to the Merovingian series that the so-called moneyers probably held in farm the

taxes and impositions of their respective districts and deposited their security or payment with the ruling authorities in the shape of struck coins bearing their names, which coins were then put into circulation in the same or any other districts as current money for the use of the general public. With regard to this theory one is almost inclined to think that what was true with regard to the Merovingian series may have been true with regard to other series and to our own coinage in Saxon times, but an English numismatist who would advance such a theory here would probably have to bear the brunt of a well-sustained, and in my opinion successful, opposition. Useful hints and information are also given on the subject of imitations of coins, reference being made *inter alia* to the fact that Becker's silver proofs of his famous Visigoth fabrications are published by Lelewel as authentic coins, and that the gold triens of Winchester described by the late Vicomte de Ponton d'Amécourt (*Annuaire de la Société française de Numism.*, T. vii., 1883, p. 326) has been ascertained to be a forgery. It is to the chapters on Anglo-Saxon coins that the English reader will more especially direct his attention, and the Anglo-Saxon, some of them semi-Frisian types of Sceattas, are well described and depicted. In a later section of the work a fairly accurate account is given of the Anglo-Saxon series of coins issued during the periods parallel with those of the Carolingian rulers and ending with the reign of Cnut. It is noteworthy, however, and somewhat to be regretted, that no reference is made to Hildebrand, and that so many of the facts and theories are borrowed bodily from our standard authors with no addition of any novel point or suggestion. The authors adduce the existence of a gold dinar bearing the name of Offa, and said to have been found at Rome, as a proof that Offa instituted a gold coinage. It is in the highest degree improbable that any such coinage was initiated by him or any of his immediate successors. On page 178 the authors wrongly attribute to Mr. Head the compilation of the catalogue of the Anglo-Saxon series of coins in the British Museum, and the failure to throw any light on the geographical determination of our early Saxon Sceattas, &c., although Mr. Keary's name rightly appears in the heading of the chapter on that subject as being the real author of the catalogue. There are naturally other slight inaccuracies of detail contained in the work, but on the whole the information contained in it is well condensed and clearly put forth, and our own numismatists will, in common with those of other countries, find in it a valuable addition to their bookshelves.

H. MONTAGU.



MISCELLANEA.

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GREEK COINS ACQUIRED BY THE BRITISH MUSEUM IN 1889.—  
CORRECTIONS. I owe the following corrections in my paper with this title (*Num. Chron.*, 1890, pp. 311—329) to the favour of M. J. P. Six and Herr A. Löbbecke:—P. 314, No. 5, *Motya*. A similar coin has been published by Dr. Imhoof-Blumer in the *Num. Zeit.*, 1886, p. 255, No. 6, Pl. VII. 5. The standing figure holds in the l. hand a branch; her r. hand is raised.—P. 316, No. 8, *Chalcidice*. Cp. Friedlaender in *Z.F.N.*, xi. 48: 'Avvikas, **ΕΠΙ ΑΝΝΙΚΑ** Tetradrachmn von Chalcidice in der Sammlung des Herrn Güterbock [now (1891) in Herr A. Löbbecke's cabinet].—P. 319, No. 16, *Carystus*. The reverse is enclosed in an oak-wreath, as may be more clearly seen on the coin with a different magistrate's name described in *Catal. Gréau*, No. 1574.—P. 324, No. 24, *Lampsacus*. Herr Löbbecke suggests that the British Museum coin is from the Avola find, and considers that the obverse is from the same die as the specimen in his own collection published in *Z.F.N.*, xvi. Pl. X. 4.

WARWICK WROTH.

## VII.

### GREEK COINS ACQUIRED BY THE BRITISH MUSEUM IN 1890.

(See Plate IV.)

DURING the year 1890 (January to December) the Department of Coins in the British Museum has acquired 177 coins of the Greek class, 5 of which are gold and electrum, 102 silver, and 70 bronze. All these coins, with two exceptions, have been acquired by purchase, and among them are 10 specimens bought at the Photiades sale,<sup>1</sup> and 5 specimens bought at the Sim sale.<sup>2</sup> A description of noteworthy specimens among the acquisitions is given in the following pages.<sup>3</sup>

#### SYRACUSE (SICILY).

1. *Obv.*—ΞΥΡΑΚΟΞΙΩΝ Head of Zeus Eleutherios r., bearded and laureate; behind, club.

*Rev.*—Pegasus flying r.; beneath, ΞΩ.

El. Size .5 inch. Weight 33.1 grains. [Pl. IV. 1.]

<sup>1</sup> Lots 59, 228, 351, 1293, 1295, 1305, 1350, 1351, 1375 and 1,396 in W. Frœhner's *Monnaies grecques de la collection Photiades Pacha*. (H. Hoffmann, Paris, 1890).

<sup>2</sup> Lots 276, 286, 299 and 477 E in the *Catalogue of the Collection of Greek and Roman Coins formed by the late George Sim*. London: Sotheby's, June 23, &c., 1890.

<sup>3</sup> The principal Greek acquisitions of the Department of Coins during 1887, 1888, and 1889 will be found described by me in the *Num. Chron.* for 1888, pp. 1—21; 1889, pp. 249—

Of the period of the restoration of the Democracy by Timoleon, B.C. 345—317. A similar specimen is in the St. Florian collection (Kenner, *Münssammlung des Stiftes St. Flor.*, p. 13, Pl. I. 7), and another, described by Dr. Imhoof-Blumer (*Monnaies grecques*, p. 30, No. 59, Pl. B. 15), has the symbol of a thunderbolt instead of the club. The head is ascertained to be that of Zeus Eleutherios, from the inscription that appears on other gold coins of Syracuse with nearly similar types.<sup>4</sup>

#### AENUS (THRACE).

2. *Obv.*—Head of Hermes r., wearing close-fitting petasos ornamented with beads; hair plaited.

*Rev.*—AIN I Goat walking r.; in front, crescent enclosing star: the whole in incuse square.

*AR.* Size 1. Weight 255 grs. [Pl. IV. 2.]

A finely preserved example of the early tetradrachms (*circ.* B.C. 450) of Aenus, of a hard, dry style, which is somewhat softened on some other coins of the same type. With the symbol on the reverse, compare the symbols of a crescent,<sup>5</sup> and a crescent enclosing an ivy-leaf<sup>6</sup> on similar tetradrachms of Aenus.

#### SPARADOCUS, KING OF THE ODRYSAE

(Brother of the Sitalces who died B.C. 424).

3. *Obv.*—Horseman, wearing hat and Thracian<sup>7</sup> cloak, riding

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267; 1890, pp. 311—329; cp. 1891, p. 116. I have to thank Mr. Barclay Head for several suggestions kindly made to me while preparing this paper.

<sup>4</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Sicily*, p. 184, No. 265=B. V. Head, *Syracuse*, Pl. VI. 4=Head, *Guide to Coins of Ancients*, III. C. 35, Pl. 26, 35.

<sup>5</sup> Von Sallet, *Beschreibung*, i., p. 120, No. 5.

<sup>6</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Tauric Chersonese*, p. 77, No. 2.

<sup>7</sup> Cp. Cecil Smith in *Journ. Hell. Studies*, xi. 1890, pp. 344—345.

l.; in r. hand, two spears; behind, helmet;  
border of dots.

*Rev.*—Ξ Γ Α Ρ Α Δ Ο Κ Ο Eagle l. (devouring  
serpent?); incuse square.

Æ. Size .95. Weight 261.5 grs. [Pl. IV. 7.]

Another specimen of this very rare tetradrachm is in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, and was published with an engraving in the *Bulletin de Corr. hellénique* (iii. p. 409 ff.) by M. Muret.

#### AMADOCUS (II?) KING OF THE ODRYSAE.

4. *Obv.*—ΑΜΑ [Δ] ΟΚΟ Double-axe; above, caduceus r.; border of dots.

*Rev.*—[Ε Π Ι] [Α]ΛΕ [Ξ]ΑΝ ΔΡΟ Vine laden with grapes within square of dots.

Æ. Size .9.

This coin, like those already published with the inscription ΑΜΑΔΟΚΟ,<sup>8</sup> was struck at Maronea, as the reverse clearly shows. It bears an unpublished magistrate's name.

These bronze coins have been assigned by numismatists to Amadocus I. (*circ.* B.C. 405—391), and other bronze coins of similar type and style, but bearing the name of Teres, have been assigned to Teres II., the contemporary of Amadocus I.<sup>9</sup> I would suggest the attribution of them to Amadocus II. (*circ.* B.C. 359—351) and to

<sup>8</sup> Von Sallet in *Zeit. f. Num.*, v. p. 97; Von Sallet, *Beschreibung*, i., p. 329, No. 9; *Brit. Mus. Cat. Taur. Chers.*, p. 202, No. 1.

<sup>9</sup> Von Sallet, *Zeit. f. Num.* v., p. 97; Head, *Hist. Num.*, p. 240; *Brit. Mus. Cat. Tauric Chers.*, p. 202; Von Sallet, *Beschreibung*, i., p. 329.

Teres III. (successor of Amadocus II. ?<sup>10</sup>) respectively, for the following reasons :—(i.) The coins were struck at Maronea, a town of which neither Amadocus I. nor Teres II. are known to have held possession : regarding Teres II., indeed, we know positively that (for a time at any rate) his rule lay over the “Delta,” between Salmysessus and Byzantium.<sup>11</sup> Amadocus II., on the other hand, is known to have ruled over at least a part of the sea-coast between Maronea and the Chersonese.<sup>12</sup> (ii.) There is good reason for believing that Amadocus I. is identical with Medocus, king of the Odrysae.<sup>13</sup> If this view is correct, we must look for the money of Amadocus I. (or Medocus) in the silver coin inscribed with the name **MHTOKO** (Von Sallet, *Beschreibung*, i. 329). As this ruler can hardly have called himself “Metocus” on his silver coinage and “Amadocus” on his bronze coinage, it follows that the bronze coins inscribed **AMADOKO** must belong, not to him, but to Amadocus II.<sup>14</sup> (iii.) Judging from style and types, the bronze coins with the names of Amadocus and Teres must be classed with the coins of Maronea issued from about B.C. 400 till B.C. 340 (Head, *Hist. Num.*, pp. 216, 217). This date (though also suitable for Amadocus I. and Teres II.) would be consistent with the issue of the coins by Amadocus II. and by Teres III., supposing the latter to have coined during the lifetime of Amadocus II. or immediately after his death.

<sup>10</sup> A. Höck in the *Hermes*, xxvi. (1891), p. 110.

<sup>11</sup> A. Höck, *op. cit.*, p. 85, note 1 on Xen. *Anab.*, vii. 5, 1.

<sup>12</sup> Demosthenes, *Cont. Aristocr.*, p. 183.

<sup>13</sup> Höck, *op. cit.*, pp. 85, 86; cp., however, Von Sallet in *Zeit. f. Num.*, v., p. 96.

<sup>14</sup> This has already been pointed out by Höck, *op. cit.* p. 86.

## LYCCEIUS, KING OF PAEONIA.

B. C. 359—(340?).

5. *Obv.*—Youthful head r. (Apollo), bare (or wearing taenia?) hair short; border of dots.

*Rev.*—**AYKKEIOY** Horse r., feeding; l. fore-leg raised.

*Æ.* Size .55. Weight 30.3 grs. [Pl. IV. 3.]

Other specimens of this coin (slightly varied) are in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France (*Rev. Num.*, 1866, p. 17, No. 4, Pl. I. 5), the St. Florian collection (Kenner, *Münzsammlung*, &c., p. 35, Pl. I. 19), and the Museum of Modena (Imhoof, *Monnaies grecques*, p. 57, note 30). The reverse closely resembles that of fourth-century coins of the Thessalian Larissa (Gardner, *Cat. Thessaly*, Pl. VI. 5, B.C. 400—344), and may have been copied from it.

## SCIONE (MACEDONIA).

6. *Obv.*—Young male head r., wearing taenia.

*Rev.*—**Ξ K I O** Helmet r.; the whole in incuse square.

*Æ.* Size .55. Weight 34.8 grs. (somewhat worn).  
[Pl. IV. 4.]

This coin appears to be unpublished. It has the same types as, but is later in style than, the silver coin of which specimens are published in the British Museum and Berlin Catalogues.<sup>15</sup> It may have been issued shortly before the taking of Scione by the Athenians in B.C. 421 (cp. Head, *Hist. Num.*, p. 186).

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<sup>15</sup> Head, *Brit. Mus. Cat., Macedonia*, p. 102, No. 1. Von Sallet, *Beschreibung*, ii, p. 124, No. 1. It is doubtful whether the coin with *obv.* half-lion, *rev.* incuse square, in *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, p. 102, No. 2, is rightly attributed to Scione: cp. Imhoof, *Mon. Gr.* p. 78.

PAUSANIAS, KING OF MACEDON.  
B.C. 390—389.

7. *Obv.*—Horse prancing r.

*Rev.*—ΠΑΥΞΑΝΙΑ Forepart of lion r.

Æ plated. Size .55. Weight 47.9 grs. [Pl. IV. 5.]

This rare coin (purchased from a foreign coin-dealer) corresponds in description with the specimen published by H. P. Borrell in the *Num. Chron.*, iii. 141, No. 3. A horse appears on other silver coins of Pausanias, and the forepart of a lion on his bronze money. Like many other coins of this ruler, our specimen is plated.

ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

8. *Obv.*—Head of Zeus r., laur. [border].

*Rev.*—ΑΛΕΞΑΝ ΔΡΟΥ Eagle r. on thunderbolt, looking l.; in field r., prow; in field l., bee: [border].

Α. Size 1. Weight 204 grs. (somewhat worn).

This tetradrachm, procured from a dealer in the Panjâb, India, resembles the unique specimen in the French collection, but has the symbol of "bee" instead of "club." Dr. Imhoof-Blumer, in publishing the French coin (*Monnaies grecques*, p. 118, No. 19, Pl. D. 8; *ib.*, pp. 120, 121; cp. B. V. Head, *Hist. Num.*, p. 198), well pointed out that it belonged to the earliest coinage of Alexander the Great, being of the same weight as the coins of Philip II., and having the Zeus-head of Philip's money. The bee occurs as a symbol on coins of Philip attributed by Müller (No. 190 f.) to Melitaea (Thessaly).

## GOMPHI=PHILIPPOLIS (THESSALY).

9. *Obv.*—Head of goddess, three-quarter face r., wearing stephanos, earring and necklace; border of dots.

*Rev.*—[ΦΙΛΙ]Γ[ΡΟ]Γ ΟΛΙΤΩ[Ν] Zeus Akraios wearing himation over lower limbs, seated l. on rock; holds in r., sceptre; his l. hand rests on rock; in field l., thunderbolt.

℞. Size .9. Weight 183 grs. [Pl. IV. 8.]

*Circ.* B.C. 300 (?) Purchased at the Photiades sale (Froehner's *Catal.* No. 59, Pl. I., 59). The British Museum (Gardner, *Cat. Thessaly*, &c., p. 19, No. 1) possesses the drachm of corresponding types.

## PHERAE (THESSALY).

10. *Obv.*—Youth l., naked, restraining bull by band passed round horns; petasos slung from his neck; beneath, X ΛΛ?; border of dots.

*Rev.*—Φ Ε ΡΙ Youth, naked, riding l. on forepart of horse; in l., whip: the whole in incuse square.

℞. Size .6. Weight 44.6 grs. [Pl. IV. 6.]

This drachm (*circ.* B.C. 480—450) seems unpublished. In the inscription on the obverse the small X is clear, but the other two letters are less distinct. On another coin of Pherae of the same period, and with the same obverse type, appear the letters ϠΛΓ (Gardner, *B. M. Cat., Thessaly*, p. 46, No. 1); or, perhaps, rather, as Dr. Von Sallet has suggested (*Zeit. f. Num.*, vi. 10, 11) ΛΛΓ.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Cp. also the obverse inscription at Larissa ΛΓ (?), Gardner, *Cat., Thessaly*, p. 24, note 5, and the letters ΛΛ on early coins of Crannon (Imhoof-Blumer, *Manuscript Cat. of Thessaly*, under "Kranon": on the *obv.* of the coin of Crannon in Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. 16, note 1, only the letters ΛΛ are distinct).



For the present these inscriptions must be left unexplained. Possibly the name of some early Thessalian dynast<sup>17</sup> is intended to be indicated.

11. *Obv.*—Youthful male head l., in petasos; hair short.

*Rev.*—ΑΛΕΞ[Α]ΝΔΡΕΙΟΝ Leg and foot of horse r,

Æ. Size .6. Weight 42·7 grs. (pierced and slightly rubbed). [Pl. IV. 9.]

Struck by Alexander, tyrant of Pherae, B.C. 369—357, on whose bronze coins similar types appear (see *Num. Chron.* 1890, p. 311, No. 11; Head, *Hist. Num.*, p. 261). The usual inscription on the money of this ruler is ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ, but it is clear that he wished his coins to be known as “Alexanders,” for there are extant a didrachm with the legend ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΟΞ<sup>18</sup> *sc.* στατήρ, a drachm with the legend ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΑ, *sc.* δραχμή,<sup>19</sup> and the present coin, a triobol, ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΟΝ, *sc.* τριώβολον.

The naming of coins after the royal personages who issued them is not without parallel in antiquity. The gold stater of Philip II. of Macedon was called (according to Diodorus Siculus, lib. xvi. cap. 8) a “Philip”: νόμισμα γὰρ χρυσοῦν κόψας τὸ προσαγορευθὲν ἀπ’ ἐκείνου Φιλίππειον κ. τ. λ. . (cp. Horace, 2 *Ep.* I. 233, regale nomisma,

<sup>17</sup> Cp. F. Hiller von Gaertringen, “Das Königtum bei den Thessalern im sechsten und fünften Jahrhundert” in *Aus der Anomia* (Berlin 1890), p. 7.

<sup>18</sup> Muret in *Bulletin Corr. Hell.*, 1881, p. 298, Pl. II. 10 (Cab. de France); *Zeit. f. Num.* xi. p. 49 (Berlin Mus.).

<sup>19</sup> Photiades *Catal.*, No. 171, Pl. I. 171.—The Delian Temple lists mention a δραχμή Ἀλεξάνδρεια: in this case the drachm is doubtless of Alexander the Great, not of Alexander of Pheræ. (*Bull. Corr. Hell.*, vi. p. 30, l. 14; p. 132).

Philippos); and tetradrachms of Antigonos issued in B.C. 303 are described, a few years later (B.C. 299—292), as *τέτραχμα ἀντιγόνεια* (see J. P. Six in *Annuaire de la Soc. franç. de Num.* 1882, p. 36). In the Delian temple lists coins of Mausolus, Dynast of Caria, are mentioned under the name of *Μαυσσώλεια τετράδραχμα* (*Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1891, p. 129). The same lists make mention of regal tetradrachms under the name of *Πτολεμαϊκὰ, Λυσιμάχεια, Ἀντιόχεια* (*Bull. Corr. Hell.* vi. p. 132).<sup>20</sup>

TRICCA (THESSALY).

12. *Obv.*—Head of Nymph Tricca r., wearing earring; hair rolled; border of dots.

*Rev.*—[Τ]ΠΙΚ[ΚΑΙ]ΩΝ Asklepios, wearing himation over lower limbs, seated r. on chair, leaning forward with r. hand on crooked staff; beneath chair, serpent erect.

Æ. Size .85. [Pl. IV. 14.]

This specimen was struck about B.C. 300 and is a variety of the bronze coins of Tricca<sup>21</sup> that represent As-

<sup>20</sup> The inscription ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΟΝ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ on a tetradrachm struck by Ptolemy I. Soter, as governor in Egypt for Alexander IV., may be translated either "coin [νόμισμα, or *τέτραχμον*] called an 'Alexander' [after Alexander the Great] issued by Ptolemy," or "Coin of Alexander (*i.e.*, struck in Alexander IV.'s name, and under his nominal authority), issued by Ptolemy as Governor." I am inclined to think that the first interpretation is here the correct one (see on the coin, R. S. Poole, *Catal. Ptolemies*, p. xxi.; Von Sallet in *Zeit. f. Num.* xiii. pp. 63, 64; Head, *Hist. Num.*, p. 712).—This view is also supported by the occurrence of the expression Ἀλεξάνδρειον *τέτραχ[μον]* in the Delian Temple lists, *circ.* B.C. 180. (Homolie, *Bull. Corr. Hell.*, vi. p. 51, l. 216; p. 132; cp. P. Gardner, "Votive Coins in Delian Inscriptions," in *Journ. Hell. Studies*, iv. p. 243).

<sup>21</sup> See *Brit. Mus. Catal., Thessaly*, p. 52, No. 17, Pl. XI. 13.

klepios seated and feeding the serpent with a bird. A seated Asklepios feeding the serpent occurs also on silver coins of this place (Leake, *Num. Hell.*, p. 108). The connection of Asklepios with Tricca is well known (see Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 263).

#### AETOLIAN LEAGUE.

*Circ.* B.C. 279—168.

13. *Obv.*—Male head r., wearing oak-wreath; border of dots.

*Rev.*—ΑΙΤΩΛΩΝ (in field r.). Male figure (Aetolus?) wreathed, standing l., r. foot placed on rock; chlamys wrapped round l. arm; causia slung round neck, and sword round body; holds in r. hand, spear: in field l., helmeted head (Athena) r., beneath which, Α (P ?) Ι and ~~Χ~~.

*R.* Size 1. Weight 159.9 grs. [Pl. IV. 10 (*obv.*)].

Prof. P. Gardner describes the head on coins of this type as wearing a wreath entwined with the regal diadem, and has suggested that it represents Antiochus III. (*Num. Chron.* 1878, p. 97, and *Cat. Seleucidae*, p. 29, Pl. XXVIII. 2, 3; cp. Gardner, *B. M. Cat. Thessaly*, &c. p. 195, Nos. 9—11). This view is accepted by M. Babelon in his *Rois de Syrie*, p. lxxxiii. Mr. Head, however, sees in the obverse a representation of Ætolus (*Guide*, Period V. B. 17; *Hist. Num.*, p. 284). Perhaps the "diadem" is only the tie of the wreath, as on the coins of Myrina with the head of Apollo (Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 481, Fig. 292).

#### ATHENS.

(*Period of Hadrian and the Antonines*).

14. *Obv.*—Head of Pallas r., helmeted.

*Rev.*—[ΑΘΗ] ΝΑΙΩΝ Demeter (on l.) holding two torches, standing turned towards Persephone, who, holding in r. ears of corn, and in l. sceptre, stands facing her.

Æ. Size 1.

For other types connected with Demeter or Persephone see Imhoof and Gardner, *Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias*, p. 141 ("Athens").

## ÆGINA (?)

15. *Obv.*—Tortoise, with shell divided into plates.


*Rev.*—Bull's head r.; border of dots.

*R.* Size .35. Weight 9.6 grs. [Pl. IV. 16.]

This coin, which is apparently uninscribed, bears the distinctive type of Ægina, though the bull's head does not occur on the silver money of that island. If issued by Ægina it must belong to the period after B.C. 404 (cp. Head, *Cat. Attica, &c.*, pp. 141, 142). The reverse has rather the appearance of a Cretan coin.

## ELIS.

16. *Obv.*—Eagle flying l., devouring lamb; in field l., murex; above eagle, countermark.

*Rev.*— Eagle l., alighting; whole in square incuse.

*R.* Size .9. Weight 168 grs.

This didrachm, which belongs to the period of Elian coinage B.C. 471—370, is not described in Prof. Gardner's *Coins of Elis*. The obverse is from the same die as the obverse of a didrachm of Elis acquired by the British Museum in 1889, and published in the *Num. Chron.*, 1890, p. 320, No. 17; Pl. XIX. 10, *rev.* Thunderbolt. With obverses of this type are usually joined reverses with the type of the thunderbolt. But the reverse on the coin here described has an eagle, and is from the *same die* as another didrachm of Elis in the British Museum which has the obverse type of Zeus seated (see Gardner, *Cat. Peloponnesus*, p. 59, No. 12; Pl. X. 11).

## CRETE.

During 1890 the British Museum has made a considerable number of additions to the Cretan series, the principal of which are as follows :—

17. APTERA. *Æ*. Size 1. Weight 167 grs.

This is the identical specimen described in Svoronos, *Προσθήκαι* (in *Ephemeris arch.* for 1889), p. 196, No. 7, Pl. XI. 8, where, however, the inscriptions ΑΓΤΑΘΑΙ (on the obverse) and (Γ ΤΟΛΙ ?) ΟΙΚΟΣ (on the reverse) have been accidentally omitted on p. 196, No. 7.

18. ITANUS. *Æ*.

Purchased at the Photiades sale, No. 1293; Pl. VII. 1293.

19. ITANUS. *Æ*.

Purchased at the Photiades sale, No. 1295, Pl. VII. 1295.

20. LATUS πρὸς Καμάρα.

*Obv.* — ΓΑΙΟΝ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΑ ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΚΟΝ  
ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΝ Head of Caligula I., laureate.

*Rev.*—ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΚΟΝ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΑ ΕΤΤΙ ΑΥΓΟΥ-  
ΡΕΙΝΩ ΛΑΤΙ Head of Germanicus r.,  
laureate.

*Æ*. Size 95. [Pl. IV. 12.]

The only money hitherto known of Latus (Svoronos, *Crète*, pp. 219, 220) belongs to the last period of the autonomous coinage of Crete (Wroth, *Cat. Crete*, p. 54). The present specimen is interesting as showing that Latus was still in a position to issue money in early Imperial times. It bears the name of the Proconsul Augurinus, as do the similar, or nearly similar, bronze coins issued under

Caligula at Gortyna,<sup>22</sup> Hierapytna<sup>23</sup> and Polyrrhenium.<sup>24</sup> As these three towns were places of importance under the Roman domination,<sup>25</sup> it may be gathered that Latus was also.

21. LISUS.

*Obv.*—**ΙΑ** Eagle flying r.; border.

*Rev.*—(No type or inscription).

**℞.** Size .35. Weight 9.5 grs. [Pl. IV. 15 (*obv.*)].

Not described in M. Svoronos' *Crète* (cp. p. 223, No. 5).

22. LISUS AND HYRTACINA.

**℞.** Size .44. Weight 11.6 grs.

From the Photiades sale, Lot 1305, where it is wrongly classed under Lisus, the letters **ΥΡ** on the obverse not having been noticed. A similar coin is described in Svoronos, *Προσθήκαι* (*Ephemeris arch.* 1889), p. 206. No. 40, Pl. XII. 18.

23. PRAESUS. **℞.** Size 1. Weight 158.4 grs.

The identical specimen described and photographed in Svoronos, *Προσθήκαι*, p. 210, No. 55, Pl. XIII., No. 4.

24. RHAUCUS. **℞.** Size .7. Weight 77.9 grs.

From the Photiades sale, Lot 1350, Pl. VII., No. 1350.

**IULIS (CÆOS).**

25. *Obv.*—Bearded male head r., laureate (Aristaeus).

*Rev.*—**ΙΟΥ** Bee; in field **Ι.**, dog's head **Ι.** and **Η**: border of dots.

**℞.** Size .8. Weight 121.7 grs.

<sup>22</sup> Svoronos, *Crète*, p. 182, note 194; Pl. XVII. 3.

<sup>23</sup> Svoronos, *op. cit.*, p. 195; Pl. XVIII. 6.

<sup>24</sup> Svoronos, *op. cit.*, p. 284, note 53; Pl. XXVI. 31.

<sup>25</sup> Svoronos, *op. cit.*, p. 158; p. 187; p. 276.

This coin was purchased at the Photiades sale (Lot 1375, Pl. VII. 1375), in the catalogue of which it is described as unpublished. A specimen of nearly similar description in Mr. Head's *Historia Numorum* (p. 412, note) is considered by him as of doubtful authenticity—an opinion in which I quite concur. The present specimen appears to be undoubtedly genuine. It is of Rhodian weight, and may have been struck about B.C. 300.<sup>26</sup> The bearded head is probably that of Aristaeus, who was in Ceos assimilated to Zeus. The bee and dog's head also refer to Aristaeus.<sup>27</sup>

BITHYNIAN KINGDOM (NICOMEDES II?).

26. *Obv.*—Head of Nicomedes II. r., diademed: fillet border.

*Rev.*—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ Zeus standing l., clad in  
ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ himation, crowning the name  
ΝΙΚΟΜΗΔΟΣ of the king with wreath held  
in r.; to l., eagle on thunder-  
bolt, ☒ and ΤΡ; in field l., palm.

Æ. Size 1.35. Weight 263.9 grs. [Pl. IV. 17.]

This curious tetradrachm—which is unpublished—resembles in type and style the coins of Nicomedes II., and was probably struck in his reign. The fillet-border—probably copied from Seleucid coins—and the symbol of the palm on the reverse differentiate it, however, from other tetradrachms of the Bithynian kings. It is further remarkable for having the blundered legend

<sup>26</sup> A plaster cast of the piece described by Head is in the British Museum. It differs from the Photiades coin in weight and in several details of style. The original was sent to the Museum for inspection, together with the two other (false) coins described in Head, *Hist. Num.*, pp. 411, 412, note.

<sup>27</sup> Cp. Wroth, *Cat. Crete, &c.*, p. xlviii.

**ΝΙΚΟΜΗΔΟΣ**,<sup>28</sup> and the impossible date **ΤΡ**. M. Waddington, to whom I have shown the coin, kindly informs me that he also possesses a specimen with a blundered date and the same symbol, the palm. M. Waddington suggests that **ΤΡ** is blundered for the date **ΠΡ**, i.e. 180 of the Bithynian era, corresponding to 118—117 B.C.

#### CNIDUS.

27. *Obv.*—Female head (Aphrodite) l., wearing earring and necklace; hair rolled and tied in bunch behind.

*Rev.*—Head and forepaw of lion r.

*R.* Size .9. Weight (before cleaning) 228.4 grs.  
[Pl. IV. 18.]

This coin should be compared with two Cnidian coins, with corresponding types, published in Dr. Imhoof-Blumer's *Griech. Münzen*, p. 670, Pl. X., Nos. 4, 5, one in the collection of Dr. Hermann Weber, the other at Paris (De Luynes). Of these the Paris coin is latest in date. Our specimen appears, chiefly on grounds of style, to be certainly older than Dr. Weber's charming coin, and may have been issued about B.C. 300, or even a few years earlier.<sup>29</sup> Dr. Weber's coin I should be inclined to assign to the earlier part of the third century B.C.,<sup>30</sup> though I do not forget that the high authority of Dr. Imhoof-Blumer places it as late as the second century B.C. (*Griech. Münzen*, p. 670).

The head on our coin, like other heads believed to

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<sup>28</sup> Probably intended for **ΝΙΚΟΜΗΔΟΥΣ**. The usual legend on the coins is, however, **ΝΙΚΟΜΗΔΟΥ**.

<sup>29</sup> Cp. a somewhat similar female head on a coin of Eubœa in the *Photiades Catal.*, No. 452, Pl. III. fig. 452.

<sup>30</sup> Compare the heads of Artemis on coins of Ephesus issued B.C. 280—258; see B. V. Head's *Ephesus*, Pl. III. (period viii.).



reproduce the Cnidian Aphrodite of Praxiteles, has the hair tied in a knot behind.<sup>31</sup> The parted lips and some other characteristics of the Aphrodite<sup>32</sup> are not to be found in the head on the coin before us, which, however, in its quiet charm and absence of self-consciousness, perhaps shows the influence of the great original.

OLBA (CILICIA).

28. *Obv.*—Club, filleted ; border of dots.

*Rev.*—**ΟΑΒΕ**  
**ΩΝ** Fortress, turreted ; border of dots.

Æ. Size .7. [Pl. IV. 11.]

Another specimen of this rare coin is in the collection of H. E. M. Waddington, and was described (though not figured) by him in his *Mélanges de Numismatique* (2nd ser., 1867), p. 127. M. Waddington has already remarked that his coin is later than the time of Ajax, dynast of Olba, *circ.* A.D. 11—15. Perhaps it may be as late as the reign of Hadrian, at which time the ordinary Greek-Imperial coinage of Olba begins (see Imhoof, *Griech. Münzen*, p. 711).

In connection with the types of our coin, it is interesting to find that among the numerous symbols on fortresses and lintels of Cilicia Tracheia, lately noted by Mr. Theodore Bent, the club occurs no less than eight times, and is actually found on the large tower that commands the ruins of the upper town of the ancient Olba.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>31</sup> Michaelis in *Journ. Hell. Stud.*, viii. p. 352.

<sup>32</sup> As, for instance, in the beautiful head found at Olympia in 1881, and published by Michaelis, *op. cit.*

<sup>33</sup> *Classical Review*, iv. (1890) p. 322: on the identification of Olba with the modern *Oura*, see *Class. Rev.* iv. p. 185; Ramsay, *Hist. Geog.*, pp. 21—22; Ramsay and Hogarth in *The Athe-*

## ARADUS (PHœNICIA).


29. *Obv.*—Head of Melcart, r., laureate.

*Rev.*—Phœnician letters **M A** (=Melek Arad); galley r. on waves.

*R.* Size .9. Weight 160.7 grs. [Pl. IV. 18 (*obv.*)]

This stater is of the ordinary types (see Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 666), but the obverse is here photographed on account of its excellent preservation.

## PERSIA.

30. *Obv.*—Persian king kneeling r., holding in r. spear, in l. bow; behind, in field,  and symbol (tiara with band?).

*Rev.*—Irregular incuse crossed by wavy lines in relief: a slight groove across centre.

*N.* Size .7. Weight 258.3 grs. [Pl. IV. 19.]

A variety of the Double Darics hitherto published (cp. Head, *Hist. Num.*, p. 700). The symbol, which is possibly a tiara with its band, occurs also on a Double Daric in the Ivanoff Catalogue, Lot 665.<sup>34</sup>

## UNCERTAIN.

31. *Obv.*—Winged goat kneeling l., looking back; on its back, bird; border of dots.

*Rev.*—Owl, with wings open, facing; on each side, crux ansata; whole in incuse square.

*R.* Size .8. Weight 166.2 grs. [Pl. IV. 20.]

*naeum* quoted in *American Jour. of Arch.*, 1890, pp. 345, 346; and Bent in *The Athenaeum* quoted in *Am. Jour. Arch.*, 1890, p. 351 ff.

<sup>34</sup> It is found also on a coin in *Cat. Hoffman*, Feb. 1874, unless, indeed the Hoffman coin be identical with the Ivanhoff specimen. Cp. Head, *Coinage of Lydia and Persia*, p. 27, Pl. I., 24; where the symbol on the Hoffman coin is described as a monogram.

*Circa* B.C. 400? This curious coin resembles in its types, and is of the same weight and fabric as, a silver stater in the British Museum (with an Aramaic inscription), which M. J. P. Six supposes to have been struck at Amisus, in Pontus, by some dynast or satrap of the neighbourhood at the beginning of the fourth century B.C. (*Num. Chron.*, 1885, p. 31; cp. Th. Reinach, in *Rev. Num.*, 1888, p. 237).

Mr. Head believes that both coins are Cilician, an attribution suggested by the weight, types, and Aramaic legends.

WARWICK WROTH.

## VIII.

### EUPOLEMUS.

THE British Museum and most other collections contain specimens of bronze coins of the following description :—

*Obv.*—Three Macedonian shields thrown together so that each is partially hidden: the central device of the shields consists of a spear-head: border of dots.

*Rev.*—ΕΥΠΟ ΛΕΜΟΥ. Sword with strap.

Æ. Size about .75 inch (= 20 millimètres).

These pieces have been sometimes assigned<sup>1</sup> to Eupolemus, a supposed king of Paeonia, but it is now generally agreed<sup>2</sup> that they can only have been struck by Eupolemus, the general of the Macedonian king, Cassander. Eupolemus is only known to us from two passages in Diodorus Siculus. In B.C. 314 he was sent by the two generals commanding Cassander's army in Caria, with a force of 8,000 foot and 2,000 cavalry, to surprise the enemy at Kaprima (περὶ Κάπριμα τῆς Καρίας) but was himself surprised and taken prisoner by Ptolemy, then lieutenant of Antigonos.<sup>3</sup> He must, however, have been

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<sup>1</sup> Mionnet, vi. p. 657, No. 311 = Sup. II. p. 560, No. 6; Leake, *Num. Hell.* p. 20.

<sup>2</sup> Head, *Hist. Num.*, p. 201; Imhoof-Blumer, *Porträtköpfe*, p. 19; Von Sallet, *Beschreibung*, II. p. 7; cp. H. P. Borrell in *Num. Chron.* III., p. 138.

<sup>3</sup> Ἀσανδρος δὲ καὶ Πρεπέλαος ἀφηγοῦντο μὲν τῆς ὑπὸ Κασσάνδρου πεμφθείσης δυνάμεως εἰς τὴν Καρίαν, πυθόμενοι δὲ Πτολεμαῖον τὸν

soon released, for in B.C. 313 he is found in Greece in command of the forces left there by Cassander.<sup>4</sup> Nothing is known as to the date or cause of his death. With regard to the coins bearing his name, it is probable, on several grounds, that they were struck in Caria to pay his troops. So far as I am able to ascertain, specimens are found not in Macedonia or Greece proper, but in Asia Minor. According to that careful observer of the find-spots of coins, Mr. H. P. Borrell, "they are always found in Asia Minor" (*Num. Chron.* iii. 133); and this statement seems to be borne out by the experience of Dr. Imhoof-Blumer (*Porträtköpfe*, p. 19). Mr. Borrell further remarks<sup>5</sup> that "what Millingen (*Recueil*, p. 63) states, that they are generally found in Mysia and the Troad, is true, but they are also found in other parts of Asia Minor." Among the specimens in the British Museum, one was purchased, from an Eastern dealer, together with twenty-five other coins, all (except a single coin of Byzantium) of Asia Minor; another—formerly in H. P. Borrell's collec-





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Ἀντιγόνου στρατηγὸν τὴν δύναμιν εἰς παραχειμασίαν διηρηκέαι καὶ αὐτὸν ἀσχολεῖσθαι περὶ τὴν ταφὴν τοῦ πατρὸς, Εὐπόλεμον ἀπέστειλαν ἐνεδρεῦσαι τοῖς πολεμίοις περὶ Κάπριμα τῆς Καρίας· συνέξέπεμψαν δ' αὐτῷ πεζοὺς μὲν ὀκτακισχιλίους, ἵππεις δὲ δισχιλίους. Καθ' ὃν δὴ χρόνον Πτολεμαῖος παρὰ τινων αὐτομόλων ἀκούσας τὴν προαίρεσιν τῶν πολεμίων, ἤθροισε μὲν τῶν πλησίον χειμαζόντων στρατιωτῶν πεζοὺς μὲν ὀκτακισχιλίους τριακοσίους, ἵππεις δ' ἑξακοσίους. Ἀνελπίστως δὲ περὶ μέσας νύκτας ἐπιβαλὼν τῷ χάρακι τῶν ἐναντίων, καὶ καταλαβὼν ἀφυλάκτους καὶ κοιμωμένους, αὐτὸν τε τὸν Εὐπόλεμον ἐξώργησε, καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας συνηνάγκασε παραδοῦναι σφᾶς αὐτούς. Τὰ μὲν οὖν συμβάντα περὶ τοὺς ἀποσταλέντας ὑπὸ Κασσάνδρου στρατηγοὺς εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν τοιαῦτ' ἦν. *Diod. xix. 68* (ed. C. Müller in Didot, *Script. Graec. Bibliotheca*).


<sup>4</sup> Cassander, καταλιπὼν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος στρατηγὸν Εὐπόλεμον, ἀπῆλθεν εἰς Μακεδονίαν, ἀγωνίων περὶ τῆς τῶν πολεμίων διαβάσεως. *Diod. xix. 77*.

<sup>5</sup> Note in the manuscript Catalogue (now in the British Museum) of his own collection, p. 33.

tion <sup>6</sup>—is known to have come from Laodicea in Phrygia. In the collection of Mr. W. R. Paton there are, as he has kindly informed me, two specimens which he obtained (from two different persons) during a short stay at Mylasa in Caria.

All the coins of Eupolemus have the same type and inscription,<sup>7</sup> but there are two principal varieties: (i) with a monogram in the field of the reverse; (ii) with the symbol of the double-axe in the field of the reverse. On a specimen of (i) in the British Museum the monogram is <sup>8</sup> Mionnet<sup>9</sup> publishes one with , and Dr. Von Sallet<sup>10</sup> describes a specimen in the Berlin Museum (from the Fox Collection) as bearing the monogram , or perhaps . It is possible that on these three coins the monogram is in reality the same. Specimens of (ii) with the double-axe are common. The two coins obtained by Mr. Paton have this symbol, and there are others in the British Museum and Berlin Museum.<sup>11</sup> Another specimen with the double-axe, originally described and engraved in Haym's *Tesoro britannico* (1720), ii. p. 64, passed through the Devonshire and Leake Collections<sup>12</sup> into the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Borrell's MS. Catal. p. 34, No. 1.

<sup>7</sup> The specimen published in Millingen, *Recueil*, Pl. III. 18, p. 63, has the legend engraved as  and is represented as without symbol or monogram on the reverse.

<sup>8</sup> The coin in the British Museum from Laodicea has a monogram, probably the same.

<sup>9</sup> vi. p. 657, No. 311 = Sup. II. p. 560, No. 6.

<sup>10</sup> *Beschreibung*, II. p. 8, No. 2.

<sup>11</sup> *Beschreibung*, II. p. 8, No. 5.

<sup>12</sup> Leake, *Num. Hell.*, p. 20.

<sup>13</sup> Another specimen with the double-axe (wrongly supposed by Sestini to be a monogram) was in the Chaudoir Collection;

The significance of the monogram on the coins I am unable to determine; but it is highly probable that the double-axe (λάβρυς), the well-known attribute of the Carian Zeus Λαβρανδεύς, is here the mint-mark of some town in Caria. The provenance of Mr. Paton's coins suggests Mylasa as the probable mint, and we find, in fact, that the double-axe, or the double-axe and trident combined, are the usual coin-types of Mylasa (Head, *Hist. Num.*, p. 529), an important seat of the worship of the Carian Zeus.<sup>14</sup> It should be added that Kaprima, the Carian locality with which, in the account of Diodorus, Eupolemus is brought into connection, is quite unknown. The word "Kaprima" is probably corrupt (Droysen, *Hellenismus*, ii. 2, p. 25, note 2), and Professor W. M. Ramsay, whose valuable opinion I have obtained on the point, suggests that it is a scribe's error for "Hylarima."<sup>15</sup> Professor Ramsay, in the map of "Asia, Lydia, and Caria," in his *Historical Geography of Asia Minor* (p. 104, cp. p. 423), places Hylarima (or Hyllarima) in the eastern part of Caria, south of the river Maeander, and west of the Morsynos. This position was fixed chiefly on the evidence of Hierocles, but he informs me that he is now

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see Sestini, *Descr. Mus. Chaudoir*, p. 49, No. 1; cp. Sestini, *Classes Générales*, p. 35, where Eupolemus is described as a general of Cassander, ruling "in Mysia."

<sup>14</sup> Mr. Paton also informs me that he procured at Mylasa—at the time when he acquired the Eupolemus coins—the following specimen, attributable to Demetrius Poliorcetes: *Obv.* Bearded male head r. wreathed (Poseidon?). *Rev.* B A on l. and r. respectively of the prongs of a trident; to the l. of the handle of trident, **Α**; to the r., double-axe. **Æ.** Size 13 millimètres.

<sup>15</sup> "ΥΛ has been altered into KA under the influence of the following ΚΑΡΙΑΣ, and ΚΑΑΡΙΜΑ has naturally been 'corrected' to ΚΑΠΡΙΜΑ."

inclined to look for Hylarima, in Western Caria, between Mylasa and Mughla (Mobolla), a little south-west or west of Stratoniceia.<sup>15</sup> According to these corrections, therefore, the Kaprima (*leg.* Hylarima) of Diodorus was near Mylasa, the town now suggested as the mint-place of the coins of Eupolemus.

WARWICK WROTH.

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<sup>15</sup> Prof. Ramsay has briefly discussed the site of Hylarima in his *Antiquities of Southern Phrygia*, published in the *American Journ. of Arch.*, vol. iii. He would now propose to modify the passage as follows:—"Hyllarima is to be looked for *ὑπερθε Στρατονικείας* (Steph. Byz.). Under the Empire it struck coins whose style suggests the Phrygian rather than the Ionian side of Karia, and it is mentioned in the Byzantine lists: Hierokles has *Harpasa—Neapolis—Hylarema—Antiokheia—Aphrodisias*, which might suggest that Hyllarima is to be looked for south of the Maeander and west of the Morsynos. But Stephanus is supported by the order of the *Notitiae*, and I should place Hyllarima between Mylasa and Mughla (Mobolla) a little south-west or west of Stratoniceia, on the higher ground. In Diod. Sic. xix. 68, read (Υλα)ριμα."



## IX.

### NOTES ON COINS FOUND IN CYPRUS.

(See Plate V.)

I HOPE to be excused for venturing to put forward a few remarks upon the coins of Cyprus. There is really so little known, at present, concerning the different rulers of the various divisions of ancient Cyprus, that every point which can be added to that knowledge must necessarily prove of assistance in building up the history of the past.

I have, during a twelve years' residence in Cyprus, collected, so far as my means would allow, such coins as appeared to me to belong to the island, or which, by the numbers in which they were found, would appear to have been in use there in olden times; this must be my excuse for asking the attention of numismatists to the following short remarks.

I notice that M. Six has, in the *Num. Chron.* 3rd Ser. vol. x., 1890, given to Salmacis in Caria, the coins figured in Pl. XVII., Nos. 14 and 15, principally, if not entirely, on account of the conclusions arrived at by a study of the monogram found on one of this class of coins. It is almost presumptuous of me to ask M. Six to give a reconsideration to this decision, but as the coins alluded to are comparatively frequent in Cyprus, I would venture to ask him to recur to this matter again. If we turn to M. Six's *Séries Cypriotes*, pp. 292 and 293, it will be noted that

in No. 36 (a coin allied to those which he now assigns to Salmacis), figured in Pl. VI., No. 15, we find between the rays of the star the Cypriote letter  $\ddagger$ . Does M. Six propose to separate these allied coins, leaving one to Cyprus and removing one to Salmacis? I do not know if the coin with the following description is one commonly found in Caria, but I can assure M. Six that it is one of the most common coins found in Cyprus.

*Obv.*—Head of Pallas, to the left, with collar and earrings, in an Athenian helmet.

*Rev.*—Forepart of a bull swimming, to the left.

Æ. 55. [*Vide Num. Chron.*, 3rd Series, vol. x. Plate XVII., Fig. 15.]

Before reading M. Six's article referred to, I had ventured to add to this series the following coins as being of Cypriote origin, being led to this conclusion by the number brought to me in Cyprus.

*Obv.*—Head of Hercules in lion skin to right, within a beaded border.

*Rev.*—ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ. Bow and quiver above Σ Α.

Æ. 65. [See Pl. V., Fig. 1.]

The Σ Α stands for Salamis, the mint of issue.

*Obv.*—As above.

*Rev.*—As above. Σ only above bow and quiver.

Æ. 45.

*Obv.*—As above.


*Rev.*—As above (and below the letter Ν).

Æ. 4. [See Plate V., Fig. 2.]

The following coins are, I believe, unedited. I should have been disposed to give the first to Moagetas of Paphos (B.C. 420), were it not of a type so altogether different from that ascribed to this king by M. Six (*vide Séries Cypriotes*, p. 357, No. 23 to 27). The letter Θ, "Mo," within the

handled cross, is clear and distinct, and is placed where the initial letter of a king's name is invariably to be found.


*Obv.*—Head of Aphrodite diademed, to the left.

*Rev.*—Within an incuse square, containing a beaded border, a single-handled cross with letter  "Mo."

Æ. 55. Wt. 49 grs. [Plate V., Fig. 8.]

The same letter is to be found on two bronze coins of a later date.


*Obv.*—Head of Aphrodite (?) to right, within a beaded border.

*Rev.*—Within a laurel-wreath a single-handled cross, the handle forming the letter  "Mo."

Æ. 5. [Plate V., Fig. 4.]

On the next small coin we find a letter which is, as far as I can trace, new to the Cypriote syllabary, and it would appear to designate one of the kings of Paphos.

*Obv.*—Head of bull, facing, within a beaded border.

*Rev.*—Within an incuse square, an eagle standing to the left; in front,  ; on right top corner, two leaves with a berry between.

Æ. 3. Wt. 5.4 grs. [Plate V., Fig. 5.]

The following coin is very similar in style to, but yet differs from, those described by M. Six at pp. 295 and 296, and may, I think, be safely ascribed to Pnytagoras.

*Obv.*—Wreathed head of Aphrodite to right; flowing hair behind.

*Rev.*—Head of Pallas to right, in Athenian helmet.

Æ. 5. [Plate V., Fig. 6.]

The next two coins belong doubtless to the mint of Citium.

*Obv.*—Hercules, covered with a lion skin, advancing fighting, to right.

*Rev.*—In an incuse square, and within a beaded border, a lion seated to the right.

Æ. 6. Wt. 42·8 grs. [Plate V., Fig. 7.]

*Obv.*—Head of youthful Hercules to right, with club on shoulder.

*Rev.*—Forepart of lion to right.

Æ. 55. [Plate V., Fig. 8.]

I do not feel sure of the attribution of the following.

*Obv.*—Head of Aphrodite (?) to right, hair in bands; behind, Λ.

*Rev.*—Head of Aphrodite (?) to right, letters behind (?), and in front, hair in formal curls.

Æ. 65.

*Obv.*—Turreted head of Aphrodite to right.

*Rev.*—Head of Pallas in Corinthian helmet to left.

Æ. 3. Wt. 9·5 grs. [Plate V., Fig. 9.]

The following silver coin of Evagoras differs from that described by M. Six at p. 281, No. 5, in his *Séries Cypriotes*, and also from that figured by the Duke de Luynes, Pl. IV., Fig. 1.

*Obv.*—Bearded head of Hercules, covered with a lion skin, to the right.

*Rev.*—Seated ibex to the right; above, a grain of barley; in front, ⌘; above, ⌘ ⌘ ⌘.<sup>1</sup>

Æ. 85. Wt. 156·5 grs. [Pl. V., Fig. 10.]

The Duke de Luynes, in his book, *Numismatique et Inscriptions Cypriotes*, gives in Pl. V., Fig. 5, the drawing of

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<sup>1</sup> Since writing the above I have seen the very beautiful coin of this class in the British Museum, from which that in my collection is also a variant.

a gold coin in which the Cypriote letter is made to appear as  $\Sigma$ . I have a similar coin in my collection, and from this I read the letter—which is perfectly distinct—to be  $\Xi$ , a form new to the Cypriote syllabary.

Another correction I would like to make is in the description of the coin of Praxippus of Kyrinia, see M. Six's *Séries Cypriotes*, p. 370. M. Six must, I think, have seen a defaced or imperfect copy of this rare coin. I cannot believe that it is correct to describe it as, "A diademed head of Aphrodite crowned with myrtle," &c. The specimen in my collection is—

*Obv.*—Wreathed head (I think Apollo), to the left; behind,  
 $\Pi P$ .

*Rev.*—A two-handled crater [with  $BA$ ].

Æ. 6. [Pl. V., Fig. 11.]

I would desire to draw attention to the very large class of coins attributed to Carthage, Panormus, and other Phœnician settlements, which I have met with in Cyprus. These coins would naturally be placed with those whose attribution is already defined and settled; but inasmuch as Cyprus was a Phœnician colony before those which lie more to the west, I cannot quite satisfy myself that the original of these types may not have first come from the *older settlement*. I put this idea forward for what it is worth; but even if the following coins were not minted in Cyprus, they must at all events have circulated there as currency, so many of them having reached me during my sojourn in the island.

*Obv.*—Head of Persephone to left.

*Rev.*—Horse standing to right; above, a star of eight rays.

Æ. 65.

*Obv.*—As above.

*Rev.*—As above; above, a winged globe, all within a beaded border.

And variants, having on reverse : plain band border; behind horse, a palm and signs,  $\Sigma$   $\Sigma$

o  $\odot$   $\bullet$   $\neq$   $\therefore$   $\therefore$   $\therefore$

Æ. .85.

*Obv.*—Head of Persephone to right.

*Rev.*—Head of horse to right.

Æ. .8.

*Obv.*—Head of horse to right.

*Rev.*—Palm-tree with fruit.

Æ. .65.

*Obv.*—Pegasus to left.

*Rev.*—Same as above.

Æ. .6.

*Obv.*—Head of Persephone to left.

*Rev.*—Horse standing to right, head turned back.

Æ. .85.

I was unable to obtain the following gold coin of Timarkos of Paphos, but the description of it is worthy of finding a place here.

*Obv.*—Head of Aphrodite to left, crowned, crown ornamented thus,  $\nabla$  o  $\nabla$  o; hair in curls, and fastened up high behind; earrings of this shape,  $\text{g}^{\circ}$ ; plain necklet, dress showing.

*Rev.*—A pigeon standing on a line to the right; above, the letters  $\uparrow$   $\times$   $\nabla$   $\alpha$ ; in front of pigeon  $\neq$   $\uparrow$ ; underneath,  $\text{T}\bar{\text{A}}$ ; all within a border of dots.

N. .45. Wt. 42.2 grs?

Accepting the character  $\alpha$  as standing for "ko," as well as for "ro," which we can do with Mr. Decke as an authority, we read  $\uparrow$   $\times$   $\nabla$   $\alpha$  as Ti-ma-ra-ko.

## IMPERIAL COINS.

Among the Imperial coins which I collected in Cyprus the following are perhaps worth mentioning :—

## AUGUSTUS.

*Obv.*—**CAESAR AVGVS.** Head of Augustus, r., bare.

*Rev.*—Draped figure of Zeus Salaminios standing half left, right arm outstretched, and l. resting on staff. On the right is the temple of Paphos.

Æ. 7. [Pl. V., Fig. 12.]

## CLAUDIUS.

*Obv.*—**TI. CLAVDIVS CAESAR AVG. P.M. TR. P.** Head of Claudius, l., laur.

*Rev.*—**ΚΥΠΡΙΩΝ** in two lines across field ; around, **ΕΠΙ ΚΟΜΙΝΙΟΥ ΠΡΟΚΛΟΥ ΑΝΘΥΠΑΤΟ.**

Æ. 1·05. [Pl. V., Fig. 13.]

Next in order follow coins of Vespasian [Pl. V., Fig. 14] and Trajan [Pl. V., Fig. 15], similar to Mionnet, iii., p. 672, No. 12, and 674, Nos. 29, 30. Between the reign of Trajan and the time of Sept. Severus (a period of nearly eighty years), there seem to be no Imperial coins attributed by Mionnet to Cyprus. May not this be simply due to the fact that the coins struck in the island during this interval did not bear its name? However this may be, I can speak for the frequency with which the following coin of Antoninus Pius and M. Aurelius is met with in Cyprus at the present time :—

*Obv.*—**ΑΥΤ. Κ. Τ. ΑΙΑ. ΑΔΡ. ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟC CEB. ΕΥCΕ.** Head of Ant. Pius, r., laur.

*Rev.*—**Μ. ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟC ΚΑΙCΑΡ ΥΙΟC CΕΒΑC.** Head of M. Aurelius, r., bare.

Æ. 1·35. [Pl. V., Fig. 16.]

The latest Roman coin I met with is one of Geta, similar to Mionnet, iii. p. 676, Nos. 40, 41.

### KINGDOM OF CYPRUS.

In this branch of the numismatics of the island, I was perhaps more fortunate, as I secured a fairly complete series, embracing a period from about A.D. 1184 (the accession of Isaac Comnenus) to the occupation by the Venetians in A.D. 1553. Amongst this series there are several of considerable rarity, and a few specimens which, so far as I can gather, appear to be unpublished. With Mr. Grueber's assistance I shall describe these in their chronological order.

The first coin to be noticed is a gold bezant of Isaac Comnenus, A.D. 1184—1191. The type of this coin is as follows :—

*Obv.*—**ICAAKIOC** (in four lines on left). Full-length figure of the king, facing, in royal robes, holding in right hand sceptre, and orb in left.

*Rev.*—**IC (XC) O EMMA(NOYHA)**. Half-length figure of Christ, seated, facing, holding book.

*N.* 1-15.

The reverse of the coin is somewhat rubbed. M. Lambros was the first to settle the attribution of these coins. In his treatise on *The Unpublished Coins of the Kingdom of Cyprus*, he also describes silver and copper coins of this king; but none of these latter have come into my possession. Isaac Comnenus was appointed Governor of Armenia, but in 1184 he seized upon the Island of Cyprus, and caused himself to be proclaimed Emperor. After a troublous reign of seven years, in which he committed many atrocities, he was deposed by Richard I. of England, and ended his days in the castle of Margat, under the custody of the Knights Templars.



The next coin which I have to notice is of still greater importance, as it forms a connecting link in the early part of the series. It is a bezant *blanc* of the usual type, and from the inscription, which unfortunately is only partly legible, I have little hesitation in attributing it to the Grand Master, Robert de Sablé. The description of the coin is as follows:—

*Obv.*—ROB. . . . DE CIPR. Full-length figure, facing, crowned and wearing royal robes; his right hand rests on long sceptre; his left holds orb.

*Rev.*—Full-length figure of Christ, seated, facing, holding book in left hand; above, on either side of head, IC XC.

EL. 1·15. [Pl. V., Fig. 17.]

After the defeat and capture of Isaac Comnenus, the Island of Cyprus was placed by Richard under the protection of English garrisons, which were engaged for some time in putting down a revolt in favour of a Greek monk, a relative of Isaac, of whose name there appears to be no record. Richard, being desirous of massing his troops at Acre, determined to withdraw the garrisons from the island, and in order to relieve himself of all responsibility, arranged to dispose of Cyprus to the Knights Templars, of whom Robert de Sablé was the Grand Master, for the sum of 100,000 Bezants (*Saracens*). This happened about the middle of July, 1191. In accordance with this agreement the Knights Templars took charge of Cyprus; but as their only aim in accepting the offer of Richard was the acquisition of profit, a wholesale pillage of the inhabitants quickly followed. Again the inhabitants revolted, and at first gained the advantage; but they were ultimately defeated and took refuge in the mountains. The

occupation, however, having proved less profitable than was anticipated, the Knights Templars determined to abandon the island and demanded back from Richard the sum that had been paid to him for it. When negotiations were in progress the inhabitants again revolted and proclaimed Guy de Lusignan (King of Jerusalem) king of the island. Guy having undertaken to make himself responsible for the debt to the Knights Templars, his title was confirmed by Richard, and he thus became the first King of Cyprus. His proclamation took place in May, 1192.

It is, therefore, to the period from July, 1191, to May, 1192, that Mr. Grueber would attribute the issue of the above coin, which was struck by the Knights Templars in the name of the chief of their order. In type it resembles the bezants of the period; but it is interesting to note that Robert de Sablé is not styled REX CIPRI, but only DE CIPRI. It is unfortunate that the whole inscription is not legible; but judging from the space occupied by the first part of it, there appears to be only sufficient room for the word ROBERT, and the whole inscription would therefore read ROBERT DE CIPRI. The general fabric and style of the coin is also in favour of this attribution, as it resembles in this respect most of the coins of Isaac Comnenus and Guy de Lusignan, who preceded and followed the period of occupation by the Knights.

Of Guy de Lusignan, as King of Cyprus, I did not obtain any coins, but I succeeded in securing two *deniers* which from their type appear to have been struck by him as King of Jerusalem, although his power in that capacity was so limited as to earn for himself the title of *roi sans terres*. These pieces are duplicates of each other; but together supply the whole type and inscriptions. They are:—

*Obv.*—REX CYRIDO. Bust facing.

*Rev.*—IEROSALEM. Circular building.

Æ. 7. [Pl. V., Fig. 18.]

The building on the reverse is probably intended to represent the Holy Sepulchre. No coins of this type appear to have been elsewhere noticed.

Of the successors of Guy de Lusignan, Hugo I. and Henry II., I have three bezants of the former and four of the latter. These do not vary from similar specimens described by M. Schlumberger, *Numismatique de l'Orient Latin*, and by M. Lambros, in the work already referred to. In one instance, viz., a coin of Henry I., the name of Cyprus is spelt CIPRI and not CYPRI, a variety not given by the authors referred to.

No coin of John I., 1284—1285, was known until M. de Vogué published, in the *Revue Numismatique*, 1864, a bezant *blanc* bearing that king's name, which being cup-shaped and of an early fabric, could not be attributed to John II. A duplicate of the coin, described by M. Vogué, has come into my possession, and as it is so little known I venture to again describe it here.

*Obv.*—ION. REX . IRLM . & . CYPR. Full-length figure of the king, facing; crowned and wearing royal robes; holding sceptre in right hand and orb in left.

*Rev.*—Full-length figure of Christ seated, facing, his right hand raised in benediction; in left, scroll; on either side of head IC XC.

EL. 95.

In style this coin is less Byzantine in character than earlier specimens; the crown of the king is Gallic in form and the dress of the king is less archaic. M. de Vogué considered his specimen unique, and M. Schlumberger does not mention another. John I. was the eldest son of

Hugo III. He was crowned at Nicosia, May 11, 1284, and died in the following year on May 20.

Of Henry II. before and after the usurpation of Amalric, of the usurper himself, of Hugo IV., Peter I., Peter II., James I., Janus, and Louis of Savoy, I have numerous *gros*, *half-gros*, and *deniers*, which do not differ materially in type from the coins described by M. Schlumberger and M. Lambros. There are, however, some slight differences in the inscriptions mainly due to incorrect spelling; and on four *gros* of Amalric the shield on the reverse is plain, *i.e.*, without arabesques; and on two *gros* of Janus there is an S to left on the field of the obverse.

There remains but one other specimen deserving of notice on account of its rarity. It is a *gros* of James II., A.D. 1460, whose son, James III., was the last King of Cyprus. The type of this coin is as follows:—

*Obv.*—IAC ° BO ° DEI ° GR. King on horseback, to right; sword in right hand; horse walking.

*Rev.*—R. ° IERV ° CIPRI ° ET ° ARMINIA ° Cross of Jerusalem, with diagonal hatching, and with Latin cross in each angle.

Æ. 9.

This specimen differs from any previously published, in having the name of Armenia in full. Of the *gros* of this king there are two types, one with the horse walking as above, and one with the horse galloping. There is a specimen of the second type in the British Museum, which is supposed to be unique.

M. Schlumberger thus writes of the *gros* of this king—"Ces magnifiques gros, joyaux de la numismatique chypriote, presque introuvables aujourd'hui, sont imités des *Cavalotti* italiens; la croix ombrée du revers est empruntée aux monnaies de Ferdinand I<sup>er</sup> de Naples."

FALKLAND WARREN.

## X.

### ON SOME RARE OR UNPUBLISHED ROMAN MEDALLIONS.

(See Plate VI.)

I AM glad of an opportunity of calling attention to a few Roman medallions in my collection which appear to be hitherto unpublished. In giving an account of them I shall not enter into the question that has been discussed by my friend, Dr. F. Kenner,<sup>1</sup> and others, as to how far these pieces, which by modern numismatists are known as medallions, were originally intended to be of the nature of coins, and so to form part of the currency of the day. I may, however, venture to express an opinion that whatever may have been the case in late Imperial times, some at all events of the earlier pieces, such, for instance, as the silver-plated medallion of Faustina the Elder, that I shall presently describe, were really what may properly be called medals, rather than current coins.

The first piece that I shall mention seems oddly enough to come under neither of these categories, but to be what may be termed a proof or trial piece, as it has been struck on a large and thick flan from *dupondius*, or "second-brass" dies.

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<sup>1</sup> *Num. Zeitschr.* 1887, p. 1.

## AGRIPPA.

*Obv.*—M. AGRIPPA L. F. COS. III. Head of Agrippa, l., with rostral crown, the whole within a beaded circle.

*Rev.*—S. C. Neptune standing l. naked, but with a mantle over his shoulders; in his r. a dolphin; in his l. a trident; the whole within a beaded circle.

Æ. 1.52 inches. Wt. 907 grs. [Pl. VI. No. 1.]

These types are precisely those of the common coins of Agrippa, and commemorate his naval triumphs and his receipt of the rostral crown in honour of his Sicilian victory over Sextus Pompeius. The weight, however, is about five times that of the ordinary coins. In the Fontana sale in 1860 was a coin of this type struck on the flan of a medallion, but I am unable to say whether the coin in my cabinet is the identical piece or not.

## HADRIAN.

*Obv.*—IMP. CAESAR TRAIAN. HADRIANVS AVG. Laureate and draped bust, r., within a beaded circle.

*Rev.*—P.M. TR. P. COS. III. S. C. Minerva standing left, with her r. dropping incense on a candelabrum; in her l. a spear; below, a buckler, on which is a serpent. The whole within a beaded circle.

Æ. 1.60 inches. Wt. 628 grs.

This again is a medallion struck from the large brass or *sestertius* dies. The types are those of Cohen (2nd ed.), No. 1066. He mentions a similar piece, which by Mionnet had been classed as a medallion, and which is in the Cabinet des Médailles at Paris. Mine was formerly in the Sabatier collection, and formed Lot 273 in the sale of his coins; but it is not among those engraved in his

*Iconographie de cinq mille médailles.* The coin has been considerably tooled, but the original weight can hardly have been double that of the *sestertius* of Hadrian, well-preserved specimens of which weigh about 380 grains.

#### ANTONINUS PIUS.

*Obv.*—(IMP. CAESAR HADRIAN.) ANTONINVS AVG.  
PIVS. Laureate head, l.

*Rev.*—TR. POT. COS. II. Victory marching, l.; in her  
r. a wreath (?) in her l. a palm.

Æ. 1.56 inches. Wt. 728 grs.

This finely executed medallion is unfortunately in such a poor state of preservation that it is not worth while to insert it in the plate. I have, however, thought it desirable to place the existence of the type on record. It must have been struck in the year A.D. 139; but whether the type commemorates the British victory over the Brigantes is somewhat doubtful. Most of the coins of Antoninus with the type of Victory were struck during his third consulate.

#### FAUSTINA I.

*Obv.*—DIVA AVGVSTA FAVSTINA. Draped bust, r.;  
the hair gathered in a coil at the top of the head;  
the whole within a beaded circle.

*Rev.*—In a car drawn by two oxen to the r., conducted by  
a driver on foot, two seated figures, the one of a  
veiled female, the other of a priest (?) holding a  
wand; in the background a domed temple of six  
columns.

Æ plated R. 1.46 inches. Wt. 585 grs. [Pl. VI.,  
No. 2.]

This beautifully executed medallion is described by Cohen (2nd ed.), No. 310, as in the Wiczay collection.

He cites Caroni as having in the catalogue of the Museum Hedervarium classed it among the silver medallions, though from the Latin account there can be no doubt that it was only plated "*argento olim obductum cujus pelliculae pars adhuc haeret.*" The fact that the piece is plated seems to show that it was intended as a medal and not as a coin. The obverse is the same as that of several other medallions struck in honour of Faustina after her death, but the reverse, so far as I know, has never been figured, though, as I have already shown, it has more than once been described. The temple in the background closely resembles that on a medallion of Lucilla, Cohen (2nd ed.), No. 105, though the number of columns there shown is only four instead of six, and is probably that of Vesta. Cohen doubtingly suggests that the female figure in the car is that of Vesta; but it is a question whether it is not rather intended for the empress. In the temple of Vesta there does not appear to have been any statue of her, as Ovid says:—

"Esse diu stultus Vestae simulacra putavi  
Mox didici curvo nulla subesse tholo.  
Ignis inextinctus templo celatur in illo,  
Effigiem nullam Vesta nec ignis habent."<sup>2</sup>

Still, Vesta seated with the empress sacrificing before her, appears on the reverse of more than one medal of Faustina. On this I think that she is shown as being conducted in company with her widowed husband, as Pontifex Maximus, in front of the temple of the goddess of the domestic hearth, and possibly as entering on a new state of existence of which they are tracing the pomoerium with a bullock and a heifer attached to the chariot instead of to

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<sup>2</sup> *Fasti* VI. 298.



the sacred plough. Luna or Selene is occasionally represented as drawn in a chariot by two white oxen, but I do not think that this goddess is here personified.

MARCUS AURELIUS.

*Obv.*—AVRELIVS CAES. ANTON. AVG. . . . Draped youthful bust of Aurelius, r., slightly bearded.

*Rev.*—TR. POT. XII. COS. II. Nude male figure to l., but looking r., holding in his r. the tail of a serpent, which is coiled over his shoulders, with its head resting on his extended left arm; a female draped figure looking l. appears to be stroking the serpent with her r., her l. being at her hip. Behind her is a tree, and between the two figures an altar or cippus.

Æ. 1.50 inches. Wt. 738 grs. [Pl. VI. No. 3.]

This, again, is an unpublished medallion. The type of the reverse seems to be a youthful Æsculapius, or possibly Apollo, with a serpent, which Salus or Hygieia is feeding or caressing, above an altar. Among the medallions struck under Lucius Verus, the colleague of Aurelius, there are several on which the principal figure on the reverse is that of Salus, either alone or, as in the case of Cohen (2nd ed.), No. 347, associated with Æsculapius. On that medal she holds a serpent in her arms, while Æsculapius, as a bearded man in front of her, has a serpent twined round his wand, which rests on the ground. On one<sup>3</sup> of the medallions of Aurelius himself we find a female figure beneath a tree feeding a serpent which is wound round a statue of Salus; and on another,<sup>4</sup> Victory and Minerva feeding a serpent upon an altar. A youthful figure, with a serpent coiled round his shoulder, occurs on some bronze coins of Thyatira in Lydia, and has been

<sup>3</sup> Cohen, 2nd ed., No. 1049.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.*, No. 871.

regarded as that of Apollo (*Mion. Sup.* vii. p. 447). The absence of the usual serpent-twined wand tells against this figure being regarded as that either of Æsculapius or of Apollo Salutaris. It may indeed be intended for that of the youthful emperor himself in the act of propitiating Hygieia, though this is hardly probable. In a previous volume<sup>5</sup> of the *Chronicle* I have made some remarks on a small medallion of Antoninus Pius, with a youthful figure upon it of not improbably Apollo Salutaris. Whoever it may be that is represented on this medallion of Aurelius, the type may be regarded as referring to the recovery of the emperor from an attack of some disease, or like that of the small silver medallion of Gallienus it may have been adopted in gratitude, OB CONSERVATIONEM SALVTIS, in the midst of some plague or epidemic.

MARCUS AURELIUS and COMMODUS.

*Obv.*—M. AVREL. ANTONINVS AVG. IMP. — L. AVREL. COMMODVS AVG. Busts face to face of the bearded Aurelius, r., and the youthful Commodus, l., each laureate and wearing the paludamentum and cuirass; the whole within a beaded circle.

*Rev.*—PONT. MAX. TR. POT. XXXII. COS III. Mars walking, r., helmeted and wearing chlamys tied round the waist, the ends floating in the air; in his r. hand a spear; in his l. a trophy carried on the shoulder.

Æ. 1·50 inches. Wt. 706 grs. [Pl. VI., No. 4.]

This unpublished medallion has been slightly tooled, but is, on the whole, in a satisfactory condition. Although in type it closely resembles the medallion in the British Museum (Cohen, 2nd ed. No. 5., *Cat. of Medall. in B.M.*,

<sup>5</sup> *Num. Chron.*, N.S., vol. vii., p. 2.

Pl. XXIII. 1), it differs in the legend on the obverse and in having a legend on the reverse which furnishes a date. It was struck in A.D. 178, on the silver coins of which year the figure of Mars also occurs. The type no doubt commemorates the second expedition into Germany, undertaken by Aurelius in company with his son, in order to quell the disturbances which had arisen among the German tribes. We even know that the expedition set out on the third nones of the month Commodus,<sup>6</sup> the name conferred on the month of August by that wilful emperor.

ALEXANDER SEVERUS.

1. *Obv.*—IMP. ALEXANDER PIVS AVG. Laureate bust, r., wearing paludamentum and cuirass, the whole within a beaded circle.

*Rev.*—SPES PVBLICA. Hope advancing, l., with her left hand holding up the skirt of her tunic, with her r. presenting a small Victory (?) to the emperor, who stands before her clad in paludamentum and cuirass, his r. extended, and in his l. a sloping spear; behind him are two soldiers, the foremost of whom holds an upright spear, and the other a purse; the whole within a beaded circle.

Æ. 1.44 inches. Wt. 647 grs.

2. *Obv.*—As No. 1. Half-length bust of the emperor, l., laureate, wearing cuirass and paludamentum, the ægis on his breast; in his r. a Victory holding a trophy; his l. holding a sword (?) the hilt formed by an eagle's head; the whole within a circle.

*Rev.*—As No. 2, but the surrounding circle is plain.

Æ. 1.38 inches. Wt. 616 grs. [Pl. VI., No. 5.]

Of these two medallions the former, especially on the reverse, has suffered so much from corrosion that it is not worth while to figure it. A part of the description of the type has been made up from No. 2. Both seem to be unpublished, though a small variety of the size of the

<sup>6</sup> *Ælius Lampridius in Commodus* (p. 50, Paris ed. 1620).

*dupondius* is given by Cohen, No. 552, and is figured in the *Catalogue of Roman Medallions in the British Museum*, Pl. XXXIX., No. 4.

The obverse of No. 2 presents a bust almost identical with that on the magnificent gold medallion of Alexander in the Cabinet des Médailles at Paris (Cohen, 2nd ed., No. 406), which is of the same size, and weighs 790 grains. It seems, therefore, probable that the bronze medallion was struck at about the same time or a little later, as it bears the title of PIVS, which was not assumed until A.D. 231, whereas the gold medal was struck in A.D. 230. It seems to have been in 231 that the Vota Vicennalia of the Emperor were celebrated, and possibly the Spes Publica type may to some extent be a remembrance of these Vota, and to a still greater the expression of a devout hope for victory for the powerful army that Alexander was about to lead into Mesopotamia in A.D. 232, by means of which he successfully drove Artaxerxes beyond the confines of the Roman Empire.

Both these medallions, like many others, are struck on flans made of two metals, the centre being of copper, which is surrounded by a ring of bronze or brass. In the case of the second medallion both metals are equally covered by a dark green patina, but the line of junction between the central circle and the outer ring is visible.

#### PROBUS.

*Obv.*—IMP. C. PROBUS P. F. AVG. Radiate bust of the emperor, l., with his r. holding a bridle attached to the head of a horse; on his l. shoulder, a buckler; the whole within a beaded circle.

*Rev.*—PROBUS CONS. II. Probus holding a branch in his r., and crowned by a Victory behind him, both in a four-horse chariot, slightly to the left;

led by a soldier, another following; the whole within a beaded circle.

Æ. gilt, 1·08 inches. Wt. 164½ grs. [Pl. VI., No. 6.]

This small medallion, which has been thickly gilt, is unfortunately but in poor preservation. The types, however, are so singular that I have thought it worthy of being included in the Plate. It affords, I believe, the earliest example of a Roman emperor being represented on a medal as leading his horse by the bridle, though this type is not uncommon under Maximianus, with the legend *VIRTVS MAXIMIANI AVG.* The usual device on the shield of Maximianus is the wolf and twins, but what it was on this shield carried by Probus cannot now be seen. A horseman led by Victory or prancing over his foes is portrayed on the shields on the obverse of some others of his medallions.

The legend on the reverse is curious, as it seems to end in *CONS. II.*, instead of the usual formula—*COS. II.* This reading, however, occurs on several small brass coins of Probus. The treatment of the triumphal car bearing the emperor crowned by Victory is quite different from what it is on the large medallion with the legend *PROBVS P.F. AVG. COS. IIII.* (Cohen, 2nd ed. No. 465). It is more like that of some of the medallions of Philip and his family, such as Cohen, No. 11. The date appears to be A.D. 278, in which year Probus is said to have pacified Illyricum and Thrace.

I have only to repeat that the whole of the medallions described are in my own cabinet, and that the second medallion of Alexander and that of Probus were added to my collection by the late Mr. C. Roach Smith.

JOHN EVANS.

## XI.

### ON A PAX PENNY ATTRIBUTED TO WITNEY.

DURING the Saxon and early Norman period, moneyers were stationed for a longer or shorter time in many towns which are now of but little importance. The establishment of several of these mints is attested by contemporary charters, but of others we have no documentary evidence. In the latter case, the coins themselves are often a sufficient proof of the existence of a mint, of which we have no other record : but a few of the suggested attributions are extremely doubtful. Among such disputed mints, the claim of Witney seems deserving of consideration, for it rests on no less an authority than Ruding's *Annals of the Coinage*. In the third edition of that work, coins of Harold II., reading *ƿITNI*, and coins of William reading *ƿITTI*, are attributed to the town in question.

Witney, which is situated about eleven miles from Oxford, in the hundred of Bampton, is a place of great antiquity. It was one of the manors given by Emma of Normandy to the church of St. Swithin, Winchester, in A.D. 1040; and from Domesday Book we learn that Witney was then the property of the see of Winchester, *Eps Winton tē Witenie*. Later, in the reign of Edward III., Witney became a royal borough, and returned two members of Parliament. It would, therefore, seem to have been a place of considerable importance in early

times, and not an unlikely town to have been selected as the abode of a resident moneyer. Yet, although it was of comparatively greater importance at that time than it is at the present, the currency required by its inhabitants might easily have been supplied from the neighbouring mints of Oxford, Wallingford, Cricklade, and Gloucester. In Hawkins' *Silver Coins of England* there is no notice of a mint at Witney; the pennies of Harold II., reading  $\text{pITHI}$  (Ruding's  $\text{pITNI}$ ) and  $\text{pITTI}$ , being doubtfully ascribed to Wilton. This attribution appears to be confirmed by some coins of Harold II., and some Pax pennies of William, in the British Museum. The coins of Harold are by the moneyer Centwine, and read:—

CENTWINE ON  $\text{pITI}$ .  
CENTWINE ON  $\text{pI}$ .  
CENTWINE ON  $\text{pITNI}$ .  
CENTWINE ON  $\text{pILT}$ .

The Pax pennies are by the moneyer Ielfwine, and read:—

IELFWINE ON  $\text{pITHI}$ .  
IELFWINE ON  $\text{pITV}$ .  
IELFWINE ON  $\text{pILT}$ .

There is also a penny by the moneyer Sefmroi, reading:—

SEFMROI ON  $\text{pITI}$ .

This latter piece can hardly be separated from the coins by Ielfwine and Centwine, so as to attribute it to the mint of Witney, whilst all the others are assigned to Wilton. If we were guided entirely by the way in which the name of the town is spelt on the coins, those reading  $\text{pI}$  or  $\text{pILT}$  might be given to Wilton, and all in which the L was omitted from the name might be attributed to Witney. But this division raises a new difficulty. Under Harold

II. we should have a moneyer named Centwine working at one of these towns and afterwards removed to the other. Or we should have two moneyers of this unusual name working at the same time, one at Wilton, the other at Witney. And we should also have a similar coincidence to account for rather later, with regard to a moneyer, or moneyers, bearing the name of Ielfwine. Had the moneyers of these pieces borne the more common names of Wulfwine and Godwine, the coincidence would have been less striking; but it is almost without precedent that, in two towns so far apart as these, a moneyer bearing such a name as Centwine should, in each case, have been succeeded by one with such an unusual name as Ielfwine. It is, therefore, far more probable that all the coins of these two moneyers were struck at Wilton.

A Pax penny in my collection, reading SEFMROI ON YITI, differs slightly from those which are published, in having neither pellets nor annulet on the king's right shoulder. It was described in the catalogue of a recent date as of the Witney mint, but should, apparently, be attributed to Wilton. Although in the Murchison and later catalogues, the pennies struck by the moneyer, Sefmroi, are assigned to Witney, they used formerly to be considered to belong to Wilton, as can be proved by a reference to the Durrant and Christmas catalogues. In the case of a doubtful attribution it is safer, temporarily, to ascribe any disputed coin to the commoner mint. It is, of course, impossible to prove that coins were never struck at Witney: yet we may venture to assert that there is but slender evidence for the belief that a mint was ever established there.

G. F. CROWTHER.



## XII.

### ON THE DURHAM PENNIES OF BISHOPS DE BURY AND HATFIELD.

WE are indebted to our learned President for a very able and instructive paper on "A Hoard of Silver Coins found at Neville's Cross, Durham." This appeared in the *Numismatic Chronicle* (3rd S., vol. ix., p. 312), and would have been referred to by me before this, had it not been that pressure of work in other directions has hitherto prevented my putting into shape the few notes that I made at the time when the paper was read. The chief interest in Dr. Evans's contribution lies in the fact that he suggests the probability that the Durham pennies with the crosier to the right on the reverse, heretofore attributed by most numismatic writers to Bishop Hatfield, were really struck during the episcopate of Bishop de Bury, and that the pennies of the former Bishop have the crosier on the reverse to the left, and not to right.

This is a simple point, though not of quite so simple a solution, and I venture to put forth a few considerations upon which I think that the contrary view may well be taken, and the old attribution sustained.

In the first place, with regard to the find to which Dr. Evans's paper owes its origin, I strongly suggest that the coins of which it was constituted were the property of, and were deposited by, a Scotchman or a traveller from

Scotland. During a period of seventy or eighty years at least, the coinages of the first three Edwards may be said to have constituted the main currency of Scotland, and in stating this fact Mr. Burns, in his *Coinage of Scotland*, further adds that in all the more extensive finds of coins belonging to the latter part of the thirteenth and the first half of the fourteenth century, the English coins have outnumbered the contemporary Scotch coins, Alexanders, Baliols, Robert Bruces and Davids, in the proportion of about thirty to one. In English hoards very few Scotch pennies are present, and Scotch groats are essentially scarce. The comparatively large number of Edinburgh and Perth groats, therefore, in the Neville's Cross find tends to confirm my opinion as to the probable depositor of the hoard, and points to the fact that having travelled but a short distance from his home or starting-point, his stock of English coins would naturally consist, in most part, of York and Durham pennies.

The importance of this point is the greater as, if sustainable, it would tend to show that in all probability the English coins contained in the hoard, which was apparently deposited between A.D. 1375 and 1380, were not accumulated over a long period of time, but were added to the depositor's stock during his temporary visit, and, therefore, fairly represented at that time the state of the currency in those parts.

This being so, it would further appear that the type of the greater number of the Durham pennies which were in the hoard, and which type is distinguished by the crosier on the reverse being turned to the left, might, as Dr. Evans has concluded, be more certainly the type adopted by Bishop Hatfield, who then occupied the See, than that adopted by Bishop de Bury, who had died more

than thirty years previously ; but it is difficult and dangerous to make attributions on the strength of a comparatively small deposit of coins ; and there may have been some special cause in the present instance to account for the inclusion in the find of so many examples of a type which, hitherto, has been of extreme rarity. My own opinion is that the coins, both with the crosier to the left and with the crosier to the right, were alike struck by Bishop Hatfield, and that at present we have no coins that we can safely attribute to Bishop de Bury. The worn condition of the pieces contained in the Neville's Cross hoard may well be accounted for by the fact that at the date of their deposit Bishop Hatfield had already occupied the See for at least thirty years. It is clear that there is no conclusive reason why Bishop De Bury should not have struck coins during his episcopate, and I was so impressed with this idea that, long before the appearance of Dr. Evans's paper, I had tentatively assigned to that prelate a penny in my own collection which bore the crosier to the left of the peculiar formation described in that paper. In a letter addressed to me on the 22nd October, 1889, Mr. W. M. Maish, of Bristol, had independently come to the same conclusion, but at the same time, he enclosed for my perusal some notes on the subject, written by Mr. W. H. D. Longstaffe, a shrewd judge and expert in connection with all matters relating to our Northern mints.

Mr. Longstaffe takes (as I do now) an opposite view. He writes : "There is another coin, unquestionably Hatfield's, whereon the crook is turned to the left. There is really nothing in the direction, as I once explained to Sir G. G. Scott."

Now, before proceeding further with the discussion, it

will be well to note plainly the succession and duration of the episcopacies in question, and secondly the differences in weights during those periods. The latter are particularly important, as Dr. Evans bases some portion of his argument upon the lighter weight of what he considers to be the later pieces.

Bishop Kellow, to whom, as it is on all hands acknowledged, the earlier pieces with the crosier to the left, struck during the reign of Edward II., must be attributed, held his office from 1311 to 1316, Bishop Beaumont from 1316 to 1333, Bishop De Bury from 1333 to 1345, and Bishop Hatfield from 1345 to 1381. As Edward I. ceased to reign in 1307, Edward II. in 1327, and Edward III. in 1377, it follows that Bishop De Bury's coins could only have been struck during a period of twelve years in the reign of Edward III., and those of Bishop Hatfield, during a period of thirty-two years in the reign of the same monarch, and four years in the reign of Richard II.

The weight of the currency was, under the royal ordinances, fixed from 1327 to 1344 at  $22\frac{2}{3}$  grains to the penny, from 1344 to 1346 at  $20\frac{1}{4}$  grains to the penny, from 1346 to 1351 at 20 grains to the penny, and from 1351 to 1377, and afterwards, at 18 grains to the penny. It must be presumed that the episcopal coinages were, equally with the regal issues, regulated by these standards of weight.

This being so, it is clear that if there be any pennies coined by Bishop De Bury they should be of the weight of  $22\frac{2}{3}$  grains or thereabouts, and Dr. Evans is certainly right in assuming that the lighter coins in a hoard would more probably be those of Bishop Hatfield than of his predecessor. But how do the facts stand?

The whole of the pennies comprised in the Neville's

Cross hoard are under the weight of 18 grains. Can, therefore, any one of them be said to have been coined during the episcopate of De Bury, whose pennies should have been of the weight of  $22\frac{2}{3}$  grains?

It is true that some or even all of the pieces may have been more or less worn, but not, I think, to such an extent as to exhibit so important a deficiency of weight. On the question of weight, therefore, I am of the same opinion as was held by Mr. Longstaffe, and I am inclined to think that not only are there none of Bishop De Bury's coins in the hoard, but that so far as we, at present, know, he struck no coins at all.

I quite agree with Dr. Evans that, seeing that this Bishop's predecessors and successor alike issued numerous pieces, it is very strange that he should not have exercised his privilege of coining; but it must be remembered that he occupied his See for twelve years only, and that probably the prolific coinage of those who preceded him may have sufficed during his episcopacy for the requirements of his district. It is also not unlikely that being on such intimate terms with the king, and being a great statesman and wily diplomatist to boot, he was quite satisfied and willing to waive his privilege in favour of his sovereign, and that during his episcopate the pennies issued from the royal mints of London and other towns circulated in Durham more largely in proportion with the local pieces than was the case during the episcopates of the other bishops.

It would appear also, from the entries relating to Bishop De Bury, that although he had his patent to coin in 1344, the delivery of the dies was only authorised in 1345, the last year of his episcopate, which is a still stronger argument in favour of the contention that if he

coined at all, this could only have been for the shortest possible period and to a very limited extent. It is true that the original patents are not forthcoming, and that Noble searched for them in vain, but there seems no valid reason to doubt the fact of the entries being accurate, and still less reason to doubt the fact that no previous patent was granted. None, at all events, has been recorded.

Although the royal occupants of the throne from time to time granted patents to the Bishops of Durham enabling them to coin, they must have always regarded with some slight jealousy these ecclesiastical encroachments upon their own sovereign rights of coinage, which involved profit as well as honour. When Richard II. ascended the throne, Bishop Hatfield appears to have entirely ceased to coin, and this most probably was due to the fact either that the king was not applied to or that he refused to grant a patent for the purpose, and from that period until the reign of Henry VI. the episcopal coinage seems to have been suspended, notwithstanding that the actual right to coin on the part of the bishops seems to have been, from time to time, preserved.<sup>1</sup>

The diplomacy of Bishop De Bury did not so much exhibit itself in his not coining, as it did in his apparently not applying for a patent enabling him to do so, until, at all events, a very late period of his episcopacy. Having regard to the fact that he was successively cofferer, treasurer of the wardrobe, keeper of the privy seal, twice ambassador to Pope John XXII., Dean of Wells, and finally Bishop of Durham, as before stated, in 1333, by force of the King's authority, backed up by the Pope,

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<sup>1</sup> Ruding (vol. ii. p. 166) states that no episcopal coins of Henry VI. are known, but we certainly have pennies of Bishops Langley, Nevill, and Booth, of that reign.

and in opposition to the wishes of the monks of Durham, who had ineffectually nominated their sub-prior, Robert de Graystones, it is clear that he had sufficient influence with the king to have, at any time, obtained his patent if he had wished to do so. As a matter of fact, however, we have only records of patents having been granted to him in 1344 and 1345. The latter was the year of his death; and the patent then received by him arrived, probably, too late to be acted upon.

The record relating to the first patent appears in the sixth volume of the manuscript copy of Rymer's *Foedera* in the Cotton Library, but not in the printed volumes, and runs thus:—"1344, 18th Edw. III. Syllabus Index 32 pro (Richard Bury) Episcopo Dunolm de Cuneis pro Sterlingis Number 93." Tanner's *Notitia*, page 113, says, "pro Tribus Cuneis pro Sterlingis monetis Regis fabricandis." The second patent is referred to as follows:—"1345, 19th Edw. 3d Syllabus Index 33 pro (Richard Bury) Episcopo Dunolm de Cuneis Liberandis. Number 102." Then follows in the same manuscript a significant entry as follows:—

"1345 De Cuneis (Electo Thomas Hatfield) Episcopo Dunelm Liberandis, Number 136," showing clearly that Bishop Hatfield had his patent immediately on his election, and thereby rendering it the more probable that Bishop De Bury's patents were not acted upon at all.

Another reason why Bishop De Bury did not apply for or obtain a patent earlier in his episcopate, may have been that he was so engaged in his other occupations that he could afford to neglect some of the duties that were attached to his diocese, although that he was a good administrator is amply proved by his Chancery Rolls, which are the earliest preserved in the archives of Dur-

ham. He was one of those energetic prelates—more statesmen than ecclesiastics—who were so numerous in the Middle Ages, both here and abroad.

In the year following his appointment to his See, he was made High Chancellor of England, and in 1336 was appointed Treasurer. In 1335 he resigned his Chancelorship in order that he might serve the king as ambassador in Paris, Hainault, and Germany. In 1337 he was employed as a Commissioner for the affairs of Scotland. In 1342 he was again employed to effect a truce with the King of Scotland. In addition to all this, he devoted a great portion of his time to his library, which was larger than that of all the other bishops put together, and he had the reputation, which he still enjoys, of having been among the first bibliophiles of England. His *Philobiblon*, which was written as a sort of handbook to his library at Durham College, was a standard work for many years after his time, and one observation in it is pertinent to the present inquiry. “No one can serve books and Mammon,” he exclaims. May this not be a reason why he devoted little or no attention to the profitable question of the coinage?

If Bishop De Bury had coined any money one might presume, having regard to his fair descent and to his high position, that he would have affixed to his coins either his badge or some reference to his family arms. This was the case with Bishop Beck, who made use of the cross-moline, and of Bishop Beaumont, who exhibited the lion rampant, sometimes accompanied by one or more *fleurs de lis*. It is true that the coins of Bishop Kellow show only the crosier turned to the left on the reverse; but, as is pointed out by Mr. Bartlet (*Archæol.* vol. v. p. 336), that bishop adopted this slight distinction on his



pennies because, being promoted only for his merits, he had no pretensions to family arms. The same remark applies to Bishop Hatfield.

Neither Mr. Bartlet nor Archbishop Sharp, whose manuscript work (since printed) forms the earliest authority on coins of this period, appears to suggest that Bishop De Bury ever coined money.

An important point to be further considered is that of the relative duration of the two successive episcopates. De Bury, as before stated, was bishop during twelve years; Hatfield during thirty-two years in the reign of Edward III. The continuation of the episcopate of the latter for the period of four years during the reign of Richard II. may be excluded from consideration, as, apparently, no episcopal coins were struck during that reign.

Now it is perfectly true that in the Neville's Cross find, as Dr. Evans observes, the coins with the crosier to the left on the reverse predominated, and that, therefore, they might fairly be considered as having been issued by Bishop Hatfield; but in all other respects and in all other finds, the pennies with the crosier to the right have been plentiful, and have enriched all our cabinets to the exclusion of those of the other type, of which, before the discovery at Neville's Cross, only three or four examples can have been known. Surely a bishop who ruled his diocese for thirty-two years with full rights of coinage granted to him from the very first year of his appointment, would have left behind him more coins than would have been bequeathed to posterity by his predecessor who, probably, only received an effective patent during the last year of his episcopate.

On the historical part of the argument I can only

repeat that I do not think that Bishop De Bury coined at all, and that the pennies with the crosier to the left on the reverse merely constitute a variety of the type adopted by Bishop Hatfield. The only question, in that event, remaining for solution is, why, unlike every other find of the kind, the Neville's Cross hoard should have contained so large a proportion of a very rare variety.

This may have been due to some exceptional cause, upon which no certain light can at present be thrown. As, however, these rare pieces, as appears by their coarse and rough fabric and workmanship, and the form of their lettering, are clearly later in date than the ordinary pennies with the crosier to the right, may it not be that they constitute a later issue of a limited extent, though their worn appearance would suggest that in any event they must have been struck some years before the decease of Edward III. That they were the result of a later issue is further evidenced by the fact that the name of the city is spelt on most of the pieces as DVNOLM instead of DVREME and DVNELME, and their varieties, which almost invariably occurred on the Durham coins of the earlier issues, whilst DVNOLM and its varieties are the usual spelling in the succeeding reigns. If the reading of the four coins with the crosier to the right, which Dr. Evans states to have been DVNELME, or possibly DVNOLME, be the former, these would probably be pieces struck immediately before the later issue, and may be considered to form a transitional type between the earlier and later coins struck by Bishop Hatfield.

I am inclined to think that DVNELME will be found to be the true reading on the four coins in question, particularly as one of the pennies with the crosier to the left reads DVNELM, and four, DVREME; these five pieces being probably the earliest of that type that were struck.

Of the sixty-one Durham coins of this period contained in the Montrave hoard not one reads DVROLN or DVROLNIA; but all have the earlier reading, DVRELNIA, DVRELNIA, DVRLNIA, &c.

The York pennies included in the Neville's Cross hoard, sixty-nine in number, were also of very inferior fabric and workmanship, and similar in those respects and in the form of the lettering to the Durham pennies, and were evidently struck at the same period. Their average weight is little more than  $16\frac{3}{4}$  grains.

It will be useful now to consider the circumstances of the Montrave hoard already referred to, which contained (*inter alia*) nine thousand coins of our Edward, the largest number that has occurred in any find within recent times. A full account of this hoard, which was discovered on the 10th May, 1877, at Montrave, in Fife-shire, is given by the late Mr. Burns in his *Coinage of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1887), vol. i. p. 187. I do not quite follow or agree with the author in many of his arguments and conclusions, but on questions of weight and type, the facts preserved by him are of the utmost value in connection with the subject of the Durham coinage of that period.

Mr. Burns, in the account referred to, attributes to Bishop Hatfield sixty-one specimens of the Durham type denominated by him, A. 53, all having the upper limb of the cross bent to the right, like the head of a crosier, save in one case, where the head of the crosier was connected with the second limb of the cross. The name of the city is on these spelt in many ways, and altogether these sixty-one coins comprised twenty-nine different varieties. The weight is important, as the average was  $17\frac{3}{8}\frac{6}{11}$  grains, the heaviest weighing 20 grains. These pieces were the latest in date of the pennies contained in the hoard, and with

regard to them, Mr. Burns remarks that their light weights and their correspondence in the style of bust, and of the inscriptions on the obverse, with the half-groats of Edward III., point them out as belonging to the coinages ordered in 1351 in the proportion of 18 grains to the sterling.<sup>2</sup> This naturally necessitates their attribution to Bishop Hatfield; and it seems, in addition, scarcely possible that during the very short time during which Bishop De Bury was able to coin, so many varieties from so many dies could have been issued by him. It may be urged further that the Montrave hoard was deposited, at the earliest, after 1356, seeing that there were found therein nineteen examples of the REX SCOTTORVM penny of David II., which could only have been struck in or after that year. As Hatfield succeeded to the episcopate in 1345, any argument contrary to mine would leave no coins in the hoard to represent at least eleven years of his rule, notwithstanding that, as before stated, he had the power of striking coins immediately after his election. This appears in the highest degree improbable.

I have now to refer to the important contribution made by Mr. Arthur J. Evans to our history of the coinage of this period, and contained in his paper on "A Hoard of Coins Found at Oxford" (*Num. Chron. N. S.*, vol. xi.). There were, apparently, only three Durham pennies in that hoard, with the crosier on the reverse turned to the right, and none with the crosier turned to the left. Their average weight was  $17\frac{2}{3}$  grains only. The hoard, according to Mr. Evans, must have been buried or lost shortly after 1344. Clearly it could not have been deposited before 1345, and if then or shortly afterwards, the reason why there were so few of Bishop Hatfield's coins in the

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<sup>2</sup> The weights indicate, rather, the coinage of 1346, a date also consistent with their attribution to Hatfield.

hoard is sufficiently explained ; but if Bishop De Bury exercised his right of coinage at all, how can it reasonably be explained why there were no pieces struck by him contained in the hoard, seeing that the dates of the pieces included in it embraced the whole period of his episcopate ? Certainly, only by assuming that either he struck no coins at all, or that those issued by him are of extreme rarity.

Some further considerations on the subject of weight present themselves. During the whole of Bishop De Bury's episcopate from 1333 to 1345, the standard weight of the penny was, as before stated,  $22\frac{1}{2}$  grains. It is true that in 1345, and thenceforward to 1347, the weight was reduced to  $20\frac{1}{4}$  grains, and, therefore, that he might have coined, in his last year, pennies of the last-mentioned weight, but it is clear that no penny of the reign of Edward III. with a crosier to the right has ever been found to weigh more than  $20\frac{1}{4}$  grains, and equally clear that no penny of that reign with the crosier to the left has occurred with any approximation to that weight. The former pennies are very numerous, and exist in every collection, therein differing very materially from those with the crosier to the left. It is a fair experiment to take the sixty-one specimens found in the Montrave hoard as a test. From an examination of these it is manifest that Bishop Hatfield struck heavier pieces earlier in his episcopate (as, in fact, he was bound to do), and lighter pieces when, in 1346, the standard weight was reduced to 20 grains, and in 1351 to 18 grains.

The average weight of the twenty-two pieces of the rarer type in the Neville's Cross find was  $17\frac{1}{4}$  grains, but the average weight of the eleven examples of the common type with the crosier to the right was only  $17\frac{1}{2}$  grains—not a substantial difference, or one of sufficient importance upon which to build a theory, but still con-

firming, rather than otherwise, the views which I have ventured to put forward. The coins in my own cabinet, with the crosier to the right, weigh from  $14\frac{1}{4}$  to  $17\frac{1}{4}$  grains, although all are in a fair state of preservation. I may be permitted to make a digression by stating that one of them, weighing  $16\frac{3}{4}$  grains, is of an unpublished type, probably a mule, reading EDWARDVS REX ANGLII, with annulets between the words and m.m. crown on the obverse, and CIVITAS DVR&M&C, also with an annulet after each word, on the reverse. My solitary example of the penny with the crosier to the left weighs but 16 grains.

Surely these weights indicate that all the coins were struck by Bishop Hatfield, and that none can be attributed to his predecessor.

Hawkins (3rd ed. 1887, p. 210) states, with regard to the pennies of Edward III. generally, that they were all, or almost all, apparently struck after 1351, when the weight was reduced to 18 grains, and that probably those struck before this time bore a more abbreviated form of the king's name. The author acted prudently in qualifying his statement, as some of the Durham pennies in the Montrave hoard, attributed by Mr. Burns and myself to Bishop Hatfield, weigh as much as 20 grains.

In dealing specifically with the Durham pennies of this reign, Hawkins refers to two examples having a crosier-like formation to the left, both of which are in the national collection, and he remarks, in connection with his attribution of pennies to Bishop Hatfield, that these "generally have the crosier to the right"; evidently, therefore, by inference, including in his attribution the two pennies with the crosier to the left.

It is noteworthy that in the case of these pieces weighing  $14\frac{1}{2}$  and 18 grains respectively, the former has the

peculiar formation of the crosier head before referred to, but the latter, which is distinguished also by having two pellets in the centre of the reverse (Hks. 313), has the ordinary form of the crosier head.

It occurred to me, while I was engaged upon this paper, that the seals of the bishops might throw some light on the subject, and I am not sure but that, inferentially, some argument may not be founded upon them. Upon the pennies of Bishop Kellow, in the time of Edward II., the crosier on the reverse is, as before stated, turned to the left. Upon reference to his ecclesiastical seal it is found that upon that also the Bishop is represented with his crosier turned inwards. Bishop De Bury had two ecclesiastical seals, and on both of these, and on his seal also, *ad causas*, he is represented with his crosier turned outwards. Bishop Hatfield, on his ecclesiastical seal, has no figure of himself, but Bishop St. Cuthbert, who is represented thereon in company with King Oswald, bears a crosier turned inwards. On his great seal in Chancery, Bishop Hatfield is represented with the crosier turned outwards.

If there be any such analogy between the direction of the crosier on the seals and that on the coins, as that which presumptively arises from the fact that in the case of Bishop Kellow the crosier was turned inwards on both, then it is clear that any coins struck by Bishop Hatfield might, having regard to the distinctive features of his two seals, fairly bear on their reverse the crosier turned to the right or to the left as occasion or taste might dictate.

In the Middle Ages the types of coins were not infrequently copied from designs on seals, as is proved by Sig. Papadopoli in his paper on "*Enrico Dandolo e le sue monete*" (*Rivista Ital. di Numismatica*, 1890, p. 511), and had been previously shown by Mons. C. Piot in his mono-

graph entitled "Etudes sur les Types," published in the *Revue Belge de Numismatique*, 1848.

Summing up my somewhat desultory remarks, and with great deference to Dr. Evans's arguments, and equally great trepidation in venturing to differ from his views, I cannot but think that the pennies with the crosier turned to the right on the reverse, must be attributed to Bishop Hatfield. With greater confidence I conclude that those of Edward III. with the crosier turned to the left were also struck by the same bishop.

It may be urged in opposition to these views that there is no reason why the position of the crosier-like limb should have been changed. It is difficult (beyond what I have said on the subject of the seals) to argue this point on general grounds, but it may be sufficient to say that at this period many varieties of common type present themselves, and I may instance, in connection with the coinage of Bishop Kellow, that I have a penny of Edward II.<sup>3</sup> struck by that prelate weighing 21 grains, which has two of the limbs of the cross on the reverse, terminating in the head of a crosier, and that the extra crosier is not at all unlike the form on the Durham pieces of Edward III. with the crosier to the left, as depicted by Dr. Evans in his paper on the Neville's Cross hoard (p. 316).

I trust that these few notes will induce some of our friends to investigate matters further, with the assistance of such coins as they may have, or of such finds as may come to light in future, so that what may now be matters of surmise only may be, eventually, either confirmed or successfully disputed.

H. MONTAGU.

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<sup>3</sup> Formerly in the collection of Mr. G. Wakeford, and referred to in Hawkins, 3rd ed. p. 206.



### XIII.

#### ENGLISH SILVER COINS ISSUED BETWEEN 1461 AND 1483.

(See Plates VII., VIII.)

THERE is some reason, I think, to be dissatisfied with the arrangement of the coins of Edward IV., as they at present stand in the latest edition of Hawkins's *Silver Coins of England*. The coins, indeed, are described accurately enough so far as marks and legends are concerned, but no systematic classification of them has been made in order to show the sequence in which they were issued from the mint. The probable cause of this confusion is the great abundance and almost infinite variety of Edward's coinage. By a careful examination of the coins, especially of the groats, I think it possible to arrive at some definite conclusions as to the order in which the various mint-marks followed each other in point of time. Before entering upon the actual classification, a word or so about weight may not be out of place. The weight of the coins of this period is no doubt an important point, but, in my opinion, undue importance has often been attached to it as a factor in arranging not only Edward's coins, but those of some of his predecessors. It is easy to trace the origin of the importance of weight, and equally easy to show the fallacies which have arisen from its undue consideration. In certain reigns among the Plantagenet kings a considerable diminution in weight took place, in some cases only, accompanied by an alteration in type.

Edward III. reduced his noble from 138 grains to 120 grains, and doubtless one cause of the great rarity of the heavier gold coins of this king is, that, when the lighter pieces were issued, the heavier ones found their way to the melting-pot. Henry IV., also, reduced his weights, and his coins, especially the heavy ones, are extremely rare.

Edward IV., after a short time, made lighter coin than his predecessors. Of his earlier gold coinage two pieces only are known, and the silver coins, except the groat, are of great scarcity. As these kings did not alter the types of their coins to any considerable extent (leaving Edward IV.'s second gold coinage out of the question), the balance has been called into play to decide to which coinage any special piece should belong. If the accuracy in point of weight which has characterized our coinage since the Restoration had always existed, this balance test would have been unassailable, and the argument, "It's rare if it's heavy," would have held its ground; but unfortunately, especially in the silver coinage, an inaccuracy of a few grains per piece seems to have been overlooked by the authorities of the Mint, as they constantly gave 62 or 63 grains to be struck into a 60 grain groat, and much the same excess occurs in the smaller pieces. I have halfpence of Richard II., of the same type and workmanship, weighing from 6 to 11 grains, and a rosette-mascle halfpenny of Henry VI. of 8.5 grains, about the weight of Henry IV.'s heavy halfpence. Many other examples of this sort can be cited. Therefore, in the classification of a coinage by type and workmanship, and so far as regards England this is the only logical one, let weight be considered of secondary importance, and assign a coin to an early or late coinage if it presents an early or late type, no matter what the weight may be.

Edward IV.'s coinage may be arranged by a comparison with Henry VI.'s on the one hand, and Richard III.'s on the other. In the middle of his reign a comparison with the pieces of Henry VI.'s restored coinage of 1470 is of immense value as helping to a satisfactory classification. As the groats of this reign are the most abundant coins and present all the mint-marks, I select them as the basis of this classification.

These coins being arranged in the order of resemblance to each other, commencing with the groat most like Henry VI.'s last heavy piece, the mint-marks will be observed to follow in sequence thus:—1, cross (patonce or plain); 2, rose; 3, sun; 4, crown; 5, cross fitchée; 6, annulet; 7, cross pierced; 8, cross and 4 pellets; 9, annulet enclosing a pellet; 10, cross (pierced or not) with 1 pellet; 11, plain cross; 12, cinquefoil.

I shall take the coins bearing these mint-marks a little in detail, and endeavour, by tracing certain characteristics in them and their close connection with each other, to show that this order is the correct one. During the whole of Edward's reign the alteration of type was most gradual, and the extreme resemblance between two coins issued close together in point of time is only as remarkable as the immense difference exhibited by the coins at the beginning and end of the series, a difference far greater than sometimes separates coins of different kings.

a. The heavy coinage, 60 grains to the groat.

The earliest mint-mark is the cross, Pl. VII. No. 5 (either patonce or plain), and the coin bearing this mark resembles in all respects except the name Henry's latest piece. There is a lis on the breast and a pellet each side of the crown, and an additional one in two quarters of the reverse. These all are characteristics of Henry's last

coinage also. All denominations of the silver coins are known down even to the farthing, and there are also two gold nobles of this first coinage extant.

The only other mint-mark of this coinage is the rose pierced. This mark is described by Hawkins as a pierced cinquefoil, which it naturally is, as it bears five leaves, but the mark is clearly intended for a rose. This is the first real variation Edward has introduced on his coins, and seems to show the first symbol of the Yorkist faction. I do not know whether a difference in form is to be made between the red rose of Lancaster and the white one of York, but it would be interesting to ascribe this form to York. Of the coins bearing the rose mint-mark there are several varieties, but the only one that I shall cite is that which has an annulet on each side of the king's neck. It bears, moreover, a mascle after CIVITAS. The piece is of interest as being the connecting link between the heavy and the light coinage. I have specimens, in the same state of preservation, differing only in the weight; 59 and 57 grains for the heavy coinage, 46 grains for the light. Here is a case in which the balance must be called into play, as the pieces themselves would do very well for specimens struck from the same dies. (Pl. VII. No. 8.)

*b.* The light coinage, 48 grains to the groat.

As the rose ends the heavy so it begins the light coinage. With this mint-mark must be classed that curious object consisting of five separate foils. (Pl. VII. No. 9.) This has been called a rose, and really appears to be meant for one, and it is frequently found connected with the obverse or reverse of a coin bearing the genuine flower. Following the rose is the sun (Pl. VII. No. 10), and here again there seems to be a natural sequence of events;

Edward becomes distinct from his party as an individual, and places his own favourite badge, the sun, on his coins. (The sun as his badge was assumed in 1461 after the battle of Mortimer's Cross, where he was successful. Before the battle Edward saw three suns unite into one blazing one.) This position for the sun mint-mark is strengthened by its being found on the obverse of a coin bearing on the reverse the old rose mint-mark. Next to the sun mint-mark comes the crown (Pl. VII. No. 11), and the use of this symbol seems to indicate that at this time, at any rate, Edward's authority was paramount.

The crown seems to have followed very closely after the sun, as the coins bear these marks in conjunction, obverse or reverse indifferently. Though very many coins were struck with this mint-mark, it could not have been used for long, as it is, so far as I know, found combined with the sun only; whereas this latter mark is again used in combination with the cross fitchée. (Pl. VII. No. 12.) This mark I place next in the series. Its type is more in resemblance to coins bearing the annulet mint-mark than are its predecessors, and its being found combined with the sun warrants its place here.

The gold coins up to this time are in exact accord with the silver ones, and bear the same mint-marks—rose, sun, crown, and cross fitchée. They consist of rials, halves and quarters, and are light coins, as though the weight was raised from 108 to 120 grains; the value was also raised from 6s. 8d. to 10s. These coins usually bear the mint-mark on one face only, and combinations of two marks on the same coin are much rarer consequently than on the silver coins. The double marks where they do occur are in accord with those on the silver. No rial or part is known with a later mint-mark than the cross fitchée.

This fact is greatly in favour of placing this mint-mark where I have assigned it, as thus all the rials and parts follow one after the other, and are not interrupted by the later angels and parts as shown in Kenyon's table.

Following the cross fitchée, and closely resembling them, are those with the annulet mint-mark. (Pl. VII., No. 15.) This is the last mint-mark I would assign to the period before Henry VI.'s short restoration, and I believe, on account of their great resemblance to Henry's coins, that the coins bearing this mark came very shortly before his, and are those that he took as his model.

In all these earlier pieces there is a slight but gradual variation of the head and other characteristics. In the heavy coinage the king's bust is a long one, the crown well fills the arches of the tressure above it, and below the bust is visible down to the curve indicating the point of the shoulder. The king's hair is bushy and stands well out into the tressure, and a line joining the lowest curls on either side is about level with the nose. The fleuring of the arches consists of a large centre-foil and two large spreading side leaves. The letters, including the R's and N's, are well made.

A gradual alteration of each of these features now takes place. The bust becomes shorter and shorter, leaving more space above the crown. The point of the shoulder disappears. The hair is brought closer to the head and is rather longer, the line joining the lower curls passing through the mouth. The fleuring of the arches consists of smaller and smaller leaflets, till these are represented by pellets only. Lastly, the letters R and N have the little curve at the end of the second stroke turned towards rather than from the first stroke, and thus become B and D respectively. These, then, are the characteristics of the

annulet groat of Edward IV. and of the light groat of Henry VI. In the same gradual way as the annulet groat is evolved from the groat of the heavy coinage, so is the latest Edward IV. groat (Pl. VIII. No. 1), or that of Edward V. (Pl. VIII. No. 15), or even that of Richard III. (Pl. VIII. No. 11), from this annulet coin. The alterations, however, so far described, do not continue to a further degree, but show a tendency to revert towards the earlier pieces. The bust, though still a short one, becomes, as it were, magnified, and presents a gradually larger head and crown; the length of the neck, however, diminishes. The hair becomes more bushy, though retaining its lower level. The little pellet fleurs, instead of vanishing, grow again into well-marked foils; and the R's and N's again uncurl their little tails from under them and curve them outwards, thereby becoming again normal letters.

Here, then, so far as can be described in words, the Edward V. piece very much resembles the early coins of his father, though the style of workmanship differentiates these pieces at once. The coin of Edward IV. possessing these late characteristics in the most marked degree, is certainly that having for mint-mark the heraldic cinque-foil (Pl. VIII. No. 7), and it is quite possible to mistake this coin for a Richard, or *vice versâ*, supposing that only the type be taken into consideration. This groat, then, is to be placed last in the series. The piece to be placed next before this, and which, as is to be expected, shows the most marked resemblance to it, bears the cross and one pellet mint-mark (Pl. VIII. No. 6). Of this mark there are several varieties, some in which the cross is pierced, some in which it is plain. Others, again, have the pellet in the left lower angle, while those with the pellet in the right lower angle are not of unfrequent

occurrence. The cross also exists without any pellet at all, and again with four pellets. I do not remember having seen a cross with a pellet in an upper angle only.

I have one groat with a plain cross patée and no pellet, which seems to be the latest of the entire group, and has very strong affinities to the cinquefoil groats. Whether the varieties of the cross with one pellet, including this one plain cross, should be considered as distinct mint-marks or only as trifling varieties, I am at present unable to say; but this much is certain, that they all resemble each other to such a degree in style and in the possession generally of symbols (roses or suns) between the words of the obverse or reverse legends, that there are ample grounds to class the whole group next before the heraldic cinquefoil.

Between this cross and one pellet group and the pre-Henry annulet coins there are some groats bearing varieties of these mint-marks, which do not seem to fall into their natural places in the series, because, while the mint-mark would connect the coin with one group, the work would connect it with another. They are,—

1. Annulet and annulet and pellet Pl. VIII., No. 1.
2. Annulet and cross . . . . Pl. VIII., No. 2.
3. Pierced cross (no pellet) . . Pl. VIII., No. 3.
4. Cross and four pellets . . . Pl. VIII., No. 4.
5. Annulet enclosing pellet . . Pl. VIII., No. 5.

Of these varieties the last is certainly of the latest work, and bears a rose on each side of the king's neck. No. 4 also looks very like the Henry coins. It has no symbols between the words, and presents pellet fleurs, together with B-like R's. On this account I have kept it distinct from the later pieces, where its mint-mark would place it, and have classed it with others of the same style



of work. Nos. 1, 2, and 3 all greatly resemble each other and the annulet coinage in every point. Nos. 2 and 3 bear the cross used by Henry VI. on his light groats. These, therefore, should have been coined after Edward's return, and the annulet and pellet would lead to a similar conclusion for No. 1. Whether the order in which I have placed them is correct, and if not, in what order they should be placed, I must leave to the decision of others who may possess connecting links which I have not seen, or who may have documentary evidence to the point.

The evidence to be obtained from the provincial regal mints is distinctly in favour of the arrangement I seek to establish. Bristol presents the rose, sun, crown, and annulet; in one case this latter mint-mark combined with the sun. This coin greatly favours the placing of the annulet mint-mark before Henry VI.'s restoration, as the sun is an early mint-mark of Edward. The annulet Bristol coin is like the London ones in workmanship and characteristics. York, Coventry, and Norwich all present early mint-marks, the rose and sun, and in the case of York the well-known lis mint-mark; and they also exhibit the same early work as the London pieces of the same mint-marks.

Before leaving these larger Edward coins, some consideration of the later gold pieces of this reign is advisable, and indeed necessary, as it must be supposed that the same gold and silver mint-marks were issued concurrently. As I have said before, the rial coinage presents mint-marks, rose, sun, crown, and cross fitchée, thus corresponding with the silver pieces. The angel coinage takes up the sequence, and adds annulet, plain cross, cross with 4 pellets, cross with 1 pellet, and cinquefoil. There are two angels with no mint-mark, and the sun's rays pouring down on the ship, of different type from any of the ordi-

nary coinage, which should be placed first in the series. It seems quite clear, from the absence of the same mint-mark on the rial and angel coinage, that these two denominations were not used at the same time, and that the angels were the later coinage. Henry VI. also struck angels, and that being the case, the conclusion follows that these coins must have been in general circulation before his restoration. Now as he must have copied his angel (as he did not invent it) from one of Edward's, and as it is not like the two without mint-mark, and is like those bearing the annulet, here is an additional reason, if one be wanted, for the placing of the annulet mint-mark before Henry's restoration.

In this connection I must refer to the curious coin described by Kenyon at the end of the reign of Henry VI. A quarter noble, reading "Henric," and having for mint-mark a crown; weight 25 grains. He assigns this coin to Henry VI. because of the mint-mark, and, referring to its early type, says, that Henry VI. could not use the type of Edward's quarter-rial because of the sun and rose reverse, and therefore he returned to his own old type. Kenyon also states that, as Henry VI. entered into an indenture with Sir R. Tonstall to coin nobles, this is likely to be one of this coinage. Finally, he concludes his arguments by saying, on the strength of this coin, that the mint-mark crown was in use in 1470. (The weight being 25 grains, he thinks it might have weighed 30 originally, as its condition now is poor.) He gives a figure of the piece.

With regard to these arguments there seems to be quite as much to say against the piece, which is in the National Collection, as for it. Is it not curious, to say the least of it, that a quarter-noble should be struck by Henry VI. at the same time that he is striking angels and

angelets—that this quarter-noble should bear a crown mint-mark when every other piece of Henry VI. of this time has a cross for mint-mark, or no mark at all, excepting the York coins with a lis mint-mark? Moreover, is it not almost wonderful that on this one coin the arms of France, in the first quarter of the shield, should have one lis above and two below, thus  $\clubsuit \clubsuit \clubsuit$ ? a most startling innovation. Then, as regards the indenture referred to, Ruding only speaks of angels and halves, but in an earlier passage says that angels were called angel-nobles. I have not seen the indenture, but clearly the nobles referred to must have been angels. If more is wanted with regard to this piece, I may say that the work is very coarse, and reminds one of Edward III.'s time, especially with the pellet in the centre of the reverse. The crown mint-mark, too, the one feature on which all this superstructure is raised, is not a bit like that found on all Edward IV.'s coins as a mint-mark. It reminds me of a crown struck by the side of the rudder on a heavy noble of Henry IV., which Mr. Montagu was once kind enough to show me, and which is in his collection. In the face of all this opposition I should certainly not call this piece a Henry VI. light quarter-noble, but assign it with greater probability to Henry IV., if indeed it be not of foreign origin.

Some conclusions may be drawn from the foregoing classification with reference to the probable dates of some of the mint-marks, and as to the time during which the provincial regal mints were in working. The first cross mint-mark I would assign to 1461—1463, and the rose mint-mark to 1465—1468. The heavy groats bearing these mint-marks are found in about equal numbers. The rose mint-mark and annulets at the sides of the neck must have been issued in 1465; the annulet mint-mark

in 1470. The heraldic cinquefoil ceased about the time of the king's death in 1483. The earlier mint-marks on the light coinage followed each other rapidly, as shown by their combinations. The later ones, especially the cinquefoil, must have been used for a considerable time, as the groats bearing these are very common, and the marks are never, so far as I know, combined. The provincial mints of Coventry and Norwich existed from 1465, and ceased before the introduction of angels. Rials and parts were issued from them, and groats and half-groats with early mint-marks rose and sun. Bristol and York continued for a short time longer; these mints being in activity during Henry VI.'s restoration, but not after. Rials and parts and angels, which latter are very rare, were issued before the restoration at Bristol, also groats and parts. During Henry's short return to power angels and groats were both very rare. York can only boast of the early gold coinage, but the silver pieces were continued into Henry's reign. As regards the issue of the angel coinage, this was clearly in use a short time before Edward's deposition, but long enough for them to get into general circulation, as otherwise Henry would not have ordered them.

What has been said about the groats of Edward likewise applies to the smaller pieces, so far as we know these much rarer denominations. Heavy half-groats present the two heavy mint-marks cross and rose, and agree very well with the groats in other peculiarities. As regards the light half-groats, examples of the rose, crown, annulet, cross pierced and pellet and heraldic cinquefoil mint-marks are chronicled; these again agree with their corresponding groats; the annulet coin exhibiting the same little pellets as fleurs. One half-groat has a cross

struck over an annulet, showing that the annulet came first.

The pence, halfpence, and farthings have been very much mixed up, principally on account of the over-consideration of weight. I may dismiss the last denomination at once by saying that both the heavy and light varieties are known, but are of such excessive rarity that no argument can be founded on them.

With the pence and halfpence, although rare, the case is different. They are usually well-made little coins (I speak of the London mint), and generally quite sufficiently well preserved to show their type, and this type should be allowed to speak for itself without being hampered by the consideration of weight, the only possible source of error.

Knowing the early heavy coinage and its extreme resemblance to Henry VI.'s, it follows that the small pieces to be of the heavy type must have for mint-mark a cross or a rose. Now the cross mint-mark seems always to have been accompanied by a lis on the neck and the pellets at the sides of the crown, and in two quarters of the reverse, and cannot, therefore, be confused with any later cross; and, moreover, the coins should resemble Henry VI.'s last coinage. Such a penny has been said not to exist, but clearly Hawkins's No. 1 is an example of it. Of the rose mint-mark, by comparison with other denominations, both a heavy and light penny should have been struck. With the other mint-marks there can be no possible confusion, as they were all struck after the reduction of weight in 1465. Of these there exist pence bearing the rose, crown, sun, cross fitchée, annulet, cross pierced, cross and pellet, and cinquefoil mint-marks.

Of the halfpence, the two heavy varieties with mint-

marks cross and rose are described, and a few others of heavy weight, which I shall show are light coins in type. Of the light type mint-marks the rose, crown, cross fitchée, annulet, cross pierced, and heraldic cinquefoil are described, and also the mint-mark a star—this, doubtless, should be a sun, as a star mint-mark is a much later symbol in English coinage.

Now, if all the pence and halfpence bearing undoubtedly light mint-marks be examined, it will be found that they bear for legend “Edward Di Gra Rex Angl,” or some representative of the first four words. The heavy coinage, however, will be found to leave out the “Di Gra,” and I believe this to be an invariable rule, and one by which all the small coins issued after 1465 may be pointed out. As this appears to be such an important point it is worth while to trace the earliest appearance of this legend on the English coinage.

Hawkins describes halfpennies reading “Edwardus. D. Gr,” or “Dei Gra,” or “D Gra R,” with a boar or bear’s head in two quarters of the reverse, from the Berwick mint. These may be of Edward I., II., or III., probably the last, but they are the first examples bearing the legend. All groats and some half-groats bear it, but no other small coins till Henry IV.’s time. There were then struck two or three pence, which are described in Hawkins, and which, of course, are of the greatest rarity. The next reign furnishes, according to Hawkins, a large variety, which I shall examine *seriatim*. 1st. The pence—Hawkins mentions five, and, although he does not seem very clear about all of them, yet there is evidence of their existence, and as bearing marks appropriated to this monarch. I also have one reading “Henric Di Gra,” which I should certainly attribute to the same king from

the style of the work. 2ndly. The halfpence. Hawkins describes three, and figures two. They all read, "Henric di Gra." According to the description the first has three pellets on each side of the neck. No weight is stated, and no mint-mark given, and the coin is assigned to Henry V. because it resembles a penny of that king having the "Di Gra" legend and three pellets. The pellets, however, occur on one side of the crown on the penny. I happen to have a specimen agreeing with Hawkins's description. It is quite a small halfpenny, and does not present the work of Henry V. in the slightest degree. Mine I have classified as Henry VII.'s first or open crown coinage, and I believe this to be another example of the same. All the characteristics of the piece point to this reign; "Di Gra" always, and the three pellets commonly, occurring here. The third halfpenny, which Hawkins describes, I unhesitatingly assign to Henry VII. The figure is quite sufficient to convince any one, and is in its original place under Henry VII. (369). Why the mint-mark is described as a cross in the face of such an engraving, I do not know. I can see nothing where a mint-mark should be. The cross on each side of the neck, the "Di. Gra." legend, and the trefoil stop between Di and Gra all fit in much better with Henry VII. than Henry V.

The second halfpenny (345) is an equally clear misattribution. In the Shepherd Sale Catalogue it is correctly described as weighing 6 gr., not 10; moreover, the name is "Henricv." Hawkins evidently had doubts where to put this, but he could not get over the difficulty of the 10-grain weight. Why he selected Henry V. rather than any other Henry is a puzzle. The piece is plainly a light halfpenny of Henry VI., issued in 1470, and I have had it photographed and the two light pence of Henry VI.

likewise as a means of comparison with Edward IV.'s small coins of the same time. These three specimens are in Mr. Montagu's cabinet, and I am greatly indebted to him for permission to publish them. I have also a specimen of this coin from a different die where the V in "Henriev" is plainer and quite undoubted. Mr. Neck thought the V in (345) was a mascle, but then he was misled by the weight.

There are no more small coins described with the "Di. Gra." legend in Henry V.'s reign, all other pence and halfpence, which are numerous, omitting these words. Hawkins accounts for no others till the extraordinary paragraph relating to three York farthings of Henry VI. The first, said to have C.I. at the sides of the head, is given on the authority of Ruding and Snelling, and these initials are supposed to stand for Cancellarius Johannes Kempe—the legend is H.D.G.AN. Z. FRASIE REX, a truly remarkable coin for Henry VI. to have struck. The specimens of this coin in the British Museum and in my collection have the cross on the reverse fourchée, and any one who has seen many of the later halfpence of Henry VII. and VIII. must have noticed how often the arch of the crown coalesces with the inner circle, thus giving the crown an open appearance. Besides this the letters on either side of the head are  $\mathfrak{A}$ . L., clearly the initials of Edward Lee (Archbishop of York in Henry VIII.'s reign), but being badly struck they have been misread for C. I. This, then, is a coin of Henry VIII. The other two farthings are also to be assigned to a later Henry, when the York Key was used under the bust. Probably the badly struck arched crown is the cause of their being placed here; but a comparison with the London coins described



just before them should have told the tale. None of the three pieces are really farthings, but little halfpence.

Now, having cleared the way of all "Di Gra" pieces after the few early pence of Henry V., this legend appears on all Edward small coins with light mint-marks, but on none with the first cross mint-mark, and on some with the rose, but not on others. (Notably one halfpenny, mint-mark rose and annulet each side of neck, has not got it, while another has, of which latter I have an example.) Clearly the conclusion is that Edward IV. introduced the general use of the "Di Gra" legend on his small light coins in 1465. By this means then is the heavy coinage of Edward in the absence of mint-mark to be distinguished from the light coinage, and in the same way may the heavy pieces of Henry VI. be differentiated from his extremely rare light coinage small pieces. Also, it may help a novice in distinguishing Richard III.'s small pieces from Richard II.'s. In my collection I have three Durham pence of Edward IV., all reading "Edward Rex Angli," mint-mark a cross. These should be heavy pence. Their weights are 12.5, 12, 11.75 gr. respectively, all under the heavy 15 gr., but though clipped, of very full weight for the light coinage. I brought these forward once as examples of the heavy pence of Edward, but the weight idea having taken such firm hold of those who saw them, the subject dropped. Since then I have thought it would be interesting to know what the average weight now is of a penny which was originally struck at the 15 gr. weight, so I weighed all my Henry V. and VI. pence, of which I have a considerable number in all states of preservation, and I found 12.6 gr. to be the average. In the same way I weighed the light pence of Edward IV. and Richard III., and their average was 10 gr., so that both

by legend and weight these three Durham pence should be heavy coins.

Some slight description of the two accompanying plates may perhaps facilitate the understanding of the opinions expressed in the foregoing paper.

Pl. VII., Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 4, are the last heavy coins of Henry VI.

Pl. VII., Nos. 5, 6, and 7, the first heavy ones of Edward IV. for comparison.

Again, Pl. VII., Nos. 15, 16, 17, and 18, annulet coins of Edward IV., and compare their immediate successors of Henry VI. restored, Pl. VII., 19, 20, 21, 22.

For the third comparison, Edward IV.'s last coinage, mint-mark cinquefoil, see Pl. VIII., Nos. 7, 8, 9, 10, and those immediately below them, Richard III.'s, Pl. VIII., Nos. 11, 12, 13, 14.

Pl. VII., Nos. 5, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, and 15, and Pl. VIII., 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7, show the sequence of mint-marks.

Compare Pl. VII., Nos. 13 and 14, which are Nevil's pence of Edward IV. and Henry VI., the latter unique, from Mr. Montagu's collection. Pl. VII., Nos. 21 (unique) and 22, are both Henry VI. light coins from the same cabinet. Lastly, Pl. VIII., No. 15, is the groat of Edward V.

In order to obtain sufficient material for the conclusions put forth in this paper, I have examined all the coins of the period in the National Collection, and have also looked over Mr. Crowther's collection and Mr. Montagu's splendid cabinet. To these gentlemen I am heartily obliged for their great kindness and for the help they have afforded me. Messrs. Spink and Lincoln also allowed me to examine their large stocks of these coins, and I here return them my thanks.

L. A. LAWRENCE.

## MISCELLANEA.

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A NEW COIN OF DUBNOVELLAUNUS.—Within the last few months a coin has been acquired for the local Museum at Colchester which is of considerable interest. For the sight of it, and for some particulars as to its place of finding, I am indebted to Mr. Frederick Spalding, the zealous curator of the Museum. The coin was picked up by a labourer while hoeing a field at Lawford, a small village about a mile and a half west of Manningtree, in Essex, and close to the border of Suffolk. It may be thus described :—

*Obv.*—Convex. A triple wreath, the central line plain, the two outer beaded, ending in ring ornaments, and divided in the middle by two thin solid crescents back to back, above and below which are ring ornaments.

*Rev.*—Concave. Horse galloping to the left above a curved branch; in front a ring ornament, above and below the head a pellet, above the back a bow-shaped figure, round the margin a series of small annulets forming an outer ring.

*N.* .44—.48 inch. Wt. 20 grains.

Although the coin shows no trace of a legend, there is no difficulty in assigning it with almost absolute certainty to Dubnovellaunus, the British prince whose name is mentioned in the well-known inscription at Ancyra, and to whom coins were first attributed simultaneously by the late Dr. Samuel Birch and myself in 1851.<sup>1</sup> The general type of the obverse is identical with that of the larger Essex coins of Dubnovellaunus (*Ancient British Coins*, Plate IV. Nos. 6 to 9), with the exception that the wreath is narrower and consists of only three bands instead of five. The horse and branch on the reverse are also of precisely the same character as those on his larger coins. When writing in 1864,<sup>2</sup> I stated that "the small coins of Dubnovellaunus have not as yet been discovered." I am glad that my then unfulfilled anticipations have now been justified.

JOHN EVANS.

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<sup>1</sup> *Num. Chron.* xiv. pp. 74, 79.

<sup>2</sup> *Ancient British Coins*, 203.

A FURTHER DISCOVERY OF ROMAN COINS IN SOUTHERN INDIA.—Quite recently a find of silver Roman coins (*denarii*) was made in the village of Vellalore, in the Coimbatore District of the Madras Presidency, by some natives, when taking out earth for a wall from some waste land. At the same village an earthen pot was discovered after a heavy fall of rain in 1842, which was found to contain 522 *denarii*, most of which were, as in the present instance, coins of the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius.<sup>3</sup> The majority of the coins described in the present note belong to the same types as those which were found at Vellalore in 1842, and at Cannanore, and comprise issues of Augustus, Tiberius, Drusus senior, Antonia, Caligula, Claudius, Nero and Agrippina.

The following is a description of the coins:—

#### AUGUSTUS.

1. *Obv.*—AVGVSTVS DIVI F. Laureate head of Augustus r.

*Rev.*—IMP. XIII (in the exergue). A Parthian or German presenting a child to the Emperor seated on a curule chair.

1 specimen.

2. *Obv.*—CAESAR AVGVSTVS DIVI F . PATER PATRIAE. Laureate head of Augustus r.

*Rev.*—AVGVSTI F . COS . DESIG . PRINC . IVVENT. Caius and Lucius Cæsar standing, each holding a shield and spear. C. L. CAESARES in the exergue.

188 specimens.

#### TIBERIUS.

3. *Obv.*—TI . CAESAR DIVI AVG . F . AVGVSTVS . Laureate head of Tiberius r.

*Rev.*—PONTIF . MAXIM. Livia seated r., holding spear and branch.

328 specimens.

4. *Obv.*— . . . . . Laureate head of Tiberius r.

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<sup>3</sup> See my *Catalogue of Roman, etc. Coins in the Madras Museum*. Govt. Press, Madras, 1888.

*Rev.*— . . . . DIVVS AVG . . . . Head of Augustus r.

1 specimen.

#### NERO DRUSUS.

5. *Obv.*—[NERO CLAVDIVS GERMANICVS IMP.] Laureate head of Drusus r.

*Rev.*—Equestrian statue on a triumphal arch between two trophies. DE GERM. on the frieze of the arch.

2 specimens.

6. *Obv.*—NERO CLAVDIVS [GERMANICVS IMP]. Head of Drusus l.

*Rev.*—DE GERMAN [IS]. Trophy of arms.

1 specimen.

#### ANTONIA.

7. *Obv.*—ANTONIA AVGVSTA. Head of Antonia r.

*Rev.*—[SACERDOS] DIVI AVGVSTI. Two torches united by garland and bands.

2 specimens.

#### CALIGULA AND AUGUSTUS.

8. *Obv.*—C. CAES. AVG. GERM. P. M. TR. P. Head of Caligula r.

*Rev.*—Head of Augustus, with radiate crown, r., between two stars.

3 specimens.

#### CALIGULA AND AGRIPPINA.

9. *Obv.*—C. CAESAR AVG. GERM. P. M. TR. POT. Laureate head of Caligula r.

*Rev.*—AGRIPPINAE MAT. CAES. AVG. GERM. Head of Agrippina r.

4 specimens.

#### CALIGULA AND GERMANICUS.

10. *Obv.*—C. CAESAR [AVG. GERM.] P. M. TR. POT. Laureate head of Caligula r.

*Rev.*—GERMANICVS CAES . P . C . CAESAR . AVG .  
[GERM]. Head of Germanicus r.

1 specimen.

CLAUDIUS.

11. *Obv.*—TI . CLAV [D] CAESAR AVG . P . M . TR . POT .  
. . . Laureate head of Claudius r.

*Rev.*—Equestrian statue on a triumphal arch between  
two trophies. DE BRITANN. on the frieze of  
the arch.

1 specimen.

12. *Obv.*—TI . CLAVD . CAESAR AVG . P . M . TR . P .  
. . . Laureate head of Claudius r.

*Rev.*—S . P . Q . R . [P . P.] OB . C . S. within a wreath.  
3 specimens.

13. *Obv.*—TI . CLAVD . CAESAR AVG . . . . Laureate  
head of Claudius r.

*Rev.*—EX S . C. OB CIVES SERVATOS within a  
wreath.

1 specimen.

14. *Obv.*—TI . CLAVD . CAESAR AVG . . . . Laureate  
head of Claudius r.

*Rev.*—[PRAETOR.] RECEPT. Claudius giving his right  
hand to soldiers holding standard and shield.

1 specimen.

15. *Obv.*—[TI . CLAVD . CAESAR AVG . P . M . TR . P.]  
Laureate head of Claudius r.

*Rev.*—CONSTAN[TIAE AVGVSTI .] Female figure  
seated in chair.

1 specimen.

16. *Obv.*—TI . CLAVD . CAESAR AVG . . . . Laureate  
head of Claudius r.

*Rev.*—PACI AVGVSTAE. Victory pointing with cadu-  
ceus to a serpent.

3 specimens.

17. *Obv.*—DIVVS CLAVDIVS [AVGVSTVS]. Laureate head of Claudius l.

*Rev.*—[EX S. C.] *Carpentum* drawn by four horses.  
2 specimens.

CLAUDIUS AND AGRIPPINA.

18. *Obv.*—TI . CLAVD. CAESAR AVG. [GERM. P.M. TRIB . POT]. Laureate head of Claudius r.

*Rev.*—[AGRIPP]INAE AVGVSTAE. Head of Agrippina r.  
2 specimens.

NERO.

19. *Obv.*—[NERONI] CLAVDIO DRVSO GERM. [COS. DESIGN.] Head of young Nero r.

*Rev.*—EQVESTER ORDO PRINCIPI IVVENT. inscribed on a shield, behind which is a spear.

NERO AND AGRIPPINA.

20. *Obv.*—NERO CLAVD . DIVI . . . Heads of Nero and Agrippina r.

*Rev.*—AGRIPPINA AVG. DIVI . . . NERONIS. Car drawn by four elephants, in which are seated two soldiers, one of whom carries his helmet on the point of his spear. EX S. C. in field.

1 specimen.

EDGAR THURSTON.

TREASURE TROVE, WHAPLODE, LINCOLNSHIRE.—At the beginning of December last, a small hoard of twenty-nine silver English coins was dug up in a field on the Manor House estate in the village of Whaplode, near Spalding, Lincolnshire. I have been unable up to the present to ascertain in what kind of vessel the coins were enclosed. From their condition it was clear that they had been little exposed to damp, being very bright and clean. They had, however, been somewhat worn by circulation before burial.

The following is a list of the various pieces comprised in the hoard :—

Edward VI.

Shilling: full face, m.m. tun.

Sixpence: full face, m.m. tun.

Mary.

Groat: m.m. double annulet, with pellet in centre of each. *Leg.* on rev. VERITAS TEMPORIS FILIA.

Elizabeth.

Shilling: m.m. martlet on obv. and rev.

Sixpences: 1561 (two), m.m. pheon.

1562, milled, m.m. star.

1564 (two), m.m. pheon.

1565, m.m. rose.

1566 (two), m.m. portcullis.

1567 (six), lion (two), m.m. coronet (four).

1568 (five), m.m. coronet.

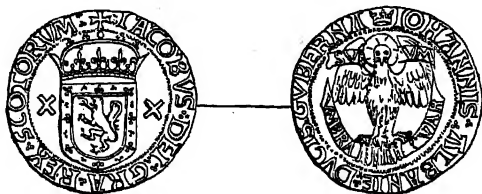
1569 (two), m.m. coronet.

Groats: (three) m.m. cross crosslet.

H. GRUEBER.

INEDITED GOLD CROWN OF JAMES V., WITH THE NAME OF JOHN, DUKE OF ALBANY.—In a French manuscript,<sup>1</sup> which was probably written by a money-changer in the year 1520, amongst numerous coins collected, I have found a most interesting one, described and figured by a rubbing made on the coin itself. Here is the text of the manuscript and the description of the coin:—

“Escuz forgez de par Jacques roy descosse du poix de deux derniers seze grains or a vingt et deux Karactz et demy vault la piece au pris du cours de lor V<sup>c</sup> et xx., xl. s.t.



† : IACOBVS † DEI † GRA † REX † SCOTORVM †  
The arms of Scotland, crowned, between two saltires.

Rev. — † IOHANNIS † ALBANIE † DVCIS †  
GVBerna †. The Holy Dove holding a phylactery on which is written SVB VMBRA TVA-  
RVM.

<sup>1</sup> This manuscript has recently been acquired by the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris.



I think this coin is one of the most curious of the Scottish series, for it is the only one that bears the name of John, Duke of Albany, who succeeded Queen Margaret in the Regency (1515). This coin has therefore been struck after the year 1515, and before 1520, the last date given by the manuscript. The information of *deux deniers seize grains* corresponds with the weight of the gold crowns of James V. (52½ and 53 grs.),<sup>2</sup> the obverses of which are almost similar to the one I have described.

The Holy Dove is also seen on two large gold pieces, preserved in the "Cabinet des Médailles," in Paris.

The description of these pieces is as follows:—

1. IOANNIS · ALBANIE · DVC · GVBERN. Upon a cross, a shield crowned, bearing the arms of John, Duke of Albany, impaled with those of Anne, one of the heiresses of John de la Cour, Count d'Auvergne, whom he married in 1505.

*Rev.*—SVB ◦ VMBRA ◦ TVARVM ◦◦. The Holy Dove; above, a cross; below, the arms of the Duke of Albany within the order of St. Michael, 1524.<sup>3</sup>

Weight, 261 grs.

2. Similar piece, with IOH̄IS.

Weight, 315 grs.

The complete text is: Sub umbra alarum tuarum protege me (*Psal.* xvii. 3). This device is also inscribed on many coins of Ferdinand and Isabella, King and Queen of Spain, on counters of Louisa of Savoy, &c. The weight of the pieces, different in both instances, is not a multiple of the gold coins of Scotland, and there is no doubt they are medals.

J. ADRIEN BLANCHET.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. Burns, *The Coinage of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1887. Pl. LV. vol. ii. p. 249.

<sup>3</sup> Hawkins, Franks, and Grueber, *Medallie Illustrations of Great Britain and Ireland*, 1885, vol. i. p. 28.

## XIV.

### SYRACUSAN "MEDALLIONS" AND THEIR ENGRAVERS,

*IN THE LIGHT OF RECENT FINDS.\**

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#### PART I.

#### INTRODUCTION.

THE "medallions" of Syracuse have been the admiration of the ancient and modern world. From the Seventeenth Century onwards they have been the subject of frequent discussion on the part of numismatic writers, and the historic circumstances connected with the issue of the earliest of them, the *Dámareteion*, whose name records the wife of Gelôn,<sup>1</sup> arrested the attention of ancient writers, who, as a rule, were little prone to afford us information about numismatic matters.

The view of the earlier numismatists that these fine coins were "medals" in the modern sense of the word, and not intended for circulation, has long been abandoned, and it has been generally recognised that they served, in fact, as current coins, of the value of fifty Sicilian silver *litras*, or ten Attic *drachmæ*. Yet, from their abnormal dimensions, the extraordinary artistic skill devoted to their production and, as will be shown in the course of this

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\* Separate copies of this Monograph with Indices, &c., may be had of Mr. B. Quaritch, 15, Piccadilly, London.

<sup>1</sup> For the *Dámareteion* see Part VI., p. 325 *seqq.*

inquiry, the special circumstances under which they were originally struck, and which place them in a certain degree outside the category of ordinary coins, it does not seem inappropriate, even in the present state of our knowledge, to apply to them the name of "medallions," by which they were till lately generally known. "Medallion," in fact, in the etymological sense of the word, means simply "a large coin," and in this sense Italian numismatists often apply the name "*medaglioneini*," or "small medallions," to tetradrachms, which have nevertheless always been regarded as current coins.

The Syracusan "medallions" struck towards the close of the Fifth Century B.C. have specially arrested attention, on account of the marvellous art that they display. The heads that appear upon these coins are of two main types—that of the Nymph, Arethusa, with her luxuriant tresses contained in a beaded net; and an even more beautiful head of the Maiden Goddess, Persephonê,—or, if that name for her should be preferred, Dêmêtêr Chloê,—crowned with the earless barley spray, green and growing, so appropriate to her inner being, as symbolizing the yearly upspringing of Nature to life and light. Of this head Winckelmann remarks that "it transcends all imagining,"<sup>2</sup> and elsewhere he asks: "Might not Raffaello, who complains that he could not find in Nature any beauty worthy to stand for Galatea, have taken her likeness from the best Syracusan coins, since in his days—with the exception of the Laocoon—the finest statues were not yet discovered? Beyond these coins human comprehension cannot go."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Winckelmann's *Werke* (1808—20), iv., 194. (*Kunstgeschichte* V. c. 2, § 26.)

<sup>3</sup> Winckelmann (*op. cit.* l. 251, Erinnerung ueber die Betrachtung der Werke der Kunst). "*Hätte nicht Raphael, der*

A new interest has, since Winckelmann's time, been added to these splendid coins by the recognition of the fact that the names of Kimôn and Evānetos that appear upon them are those of the artists who engraved the dies, and who worked for other Sicilian cities besides Syracuse.<sup>4</sup>

*sich beklagte zur Galatee keine würdige Schönheit in der Natur zu finden, die Bildung derselben von der besten Syracusanischen Münzen nehmen können, da die schönsten Statuen, ausser dem Laocoon, zu seiner Zeit noch nicht entdeckt waren? Weiter als diese Münzen kann der menschliche Begriff nicht gehen."* Payne Knight (*Archæologia*, xix. p. 375) says of the Syracusan "medallions," "to the sublime perfection of these coins no work of man of a similar description has hitherto even approached."

<sup>4</sup> The first to point out that the signature "**KIMON**" represented the name of the engraver was A. von Steinbüchel (in the *Vienna Jahrbücher der Literatur* (1818), B. II. p. 124; cf. the *Anzeigebblatt* for 1833, p. 60). About the same time the same conclusion was independently put forth by Payne Knight, in his essay on *The Large Coins of Syracuse* (*Archæologia*, vol. xix. (1821), p. 369 *seqq.*), who was followed by Noehden, in his *Specimens of Ancient Coins of Magna Græcia and Sicily*, from Lord Northwick's cabinet (London, 1826, p. 41 *seqq.*). Havercamp, in his commentary on Paruta's *Sicilia Numismatica* (p. 307), had been much puzzled by the name ("Nomen illud Cimon, seu **KIMON**, me multum torquet," p. 307). He came to the conclusion that it was a magistrate's name. It is to the Duc de Luynes (*Annali dell' Istituto*, &c., 1880, p. 85), and Raoul Rochette, in his *Lettre à M. le Duc de Luynes sur les Graveurs des Monnaies Grecques* (Paris, 1881, p. 19 *seqq.*), that the credit belongs of first detecting in the signature "**EYAINÉ**" beneath the head of Persephoné on the fellow-medallions, the name of the engraver, Evānetos (**EYAINÉ-TOΞ**), which occurs in a fuller form on tetradrachms of Syracuse and Katanê. These conclusions as to the true meaning of the signature on these coins have been borne out by more recent writers: [cf., especially Von Sallet, *Die Künstlerinschriften auf griechischen Münzen* (Berlin, 1871); Head, *Coins of Syracuse* (1874), p. 19 *seqq.*; Poole, *Brit. Mus. Cat.*,—*Sicily*; Gardner, *Types of Greek Coins*, and the excellent work of Dr. Rudolf Weil, *Die Künstlerinschriften der sicilischen Münzen* (Berlin, 1884, p. 10 *seqq.*; 19, &c.)]. Brunn, (*Kunstlergeschichte*, ii. 248) almost alone amongst modern writers,

Various efforts have been made in this connexion to contrast the style of these two artists, but the scale has generally weighed in Evænetos's favour. "If we only possessed Kimôn's piece," observes Lenormant, "it would justly awaken in us our entire admiration and would be cited as a type of inimitable perfection. But it pales beside the work of Evænetos. The style of Kimôn—superior as it still is to the finest works that the Renaissance itself has produced in monetary art—appears smaller by comparison with the other. . . . Kimôn is a great artist: Evænetos is the greatest of all in the branch that he has cultivated. He is the Phidias of coin-engraving."<sup>5</sup> As

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refuses to allow that the signature on Evænetos' dekadrachms and gold pieces refers to the engraver, although he accepts the view that the smaller signature with this name on the tetradrachms is an engraver's signature. So, too, at Katanê, he allows that the signature **EYAINETO** on the tetradrachms is an artist's signature; but the **EYAI** which appears more conspicuously on drachms of the same style, with the head of Amenaios, cannot, he says, be accepted as such. "Otherwise," he continues, "we lose every criterion for distinguishing an engraver's name from any other." According to this view, then, it is more reasonable to believe that there were two contemporaries named Evænetos at Syracuse, both signing on the coins, one a die-sinker and the other not, and that the same extraordinary coincidence occurred at Katanê! But, as I have pointed out in my *Horsemen of Tarentum* (p. 116 *seqq.*), the coin-engravers of Sicily and Great Greece sign in two qualities, both as artists and as responsible mint officials. Sometimes one character is conspicuous in the signature and sometimes the other (cf., too, Weil, *op. cit.* p. 24). For Kinch's theory, see p. 840.

<sup>5</sup> *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1868 (15), p. 888, 889. Mr. Head in his *Historia Numorum* (p. 155), says, "Of these two magnificent dekadrachms (of Kimôn and Evænetos), one that is signed by Euainetos is the *chef d'œuvre* of the art of coin-engraving." Mr. Poole, *Greek Coins as Illustrating Greek Art* (*Num. Chron.*, 1864, p. 244, *seqq.*), also gives the palm to Evænetos. He admits that "nothing more delicately finished

to the actual school to which the works of Kimôn and Evænetos are to be referred, Lenormant would detect that of Polykleitos rather than Pheidias; but there seems, in truth, to be no good reason for seeking the artistic traditions here represented beyond the three seas of Sicily.<sup>6</sup>

Certainly we have not here the bold and simple style of some of the coins of Greece proper, and the detail and ornament of these "medallions" has been a stumbling-block to some who would transfer the canons of high art in sculpture to the narrow field on which the die-sinker exercised his craft. But it was precisely because the great Sicilian engravers took a juster view of the requirements of their special branch of art that they attained, at such a surprisingly early date,<sup>7</sup> a perfection not to be found elsewhere in Hellas, and that their masterpieces surpassed in beauty and interest all but a very few exceptional pieces to be found throughout the length and breadth of the Greek world. The gem-like finish of the details, the decorative richness, the more human beauty of the features that they represented, the naturalistic gleanings from the Sicilian fields around—from air and

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has been produced by Greek art" than Evænetos' Persephonê, and that "the first impression is very pleasing," but complains that, "you cannot magnify it without becoming aware of a want of expression," and that the treatment of the hair is intensely artificial, with shell-like and snake-like curls that are suggestive of the hot irons and 'artists in hair' of conventional life." Lenormant, on the other hand, remarks, "Regardez pendant quelque temps une monnaie gravée par Evénète et bientôt vous oublierez les dimensions exigües de l'objet que vous tenez à la main."

<sup>6</sup> Some terra-cotta female heads from Syracuse and the neighbourhood show much the same artificial arrangement of the locks of hair as is seen beneath the net on Kimôn's "medallions" (cf. Kekulé, *Die Terracotten von Sicilien*, Taf. x.).

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Gardner, *Types of Greek Coins*, p. 131.

sea—thrown into their designs, were regarded by the artists of these dies as altogether appropriate to this class of small relief in metal-work.

It is by this standard of appropriateness, and by no other, that the masterpieces of Kimôn and Evmenetos, and that of another Artist, of whose work we shall presently speak, must be judged. To the greater works of Greek statuary and relief, in ivory or marble, warmth and variety, and even minute detail, far beyond our present ken, was supplied by calling in the painter's and the goldsmith's art. Even in bronze-work monotony was avoided by the inlaying and overlaying with gold and silver; diamonds might sparkle in the eyes, diadems and torques of precious metal might glitter about head and neck, and the helm or shield of God or Hero might glow with many-hued enamels. But in the smooth, glistening surface of a coin there was no opportunity for such adventitious adornments—polychrome, chrys-elephantine, or the like. Limited in relief, the outlines yet could not be thrown up by colour contrasts. Hence, according to the canons of Greek taste, there was the greater need for luxuriant detail and minutely decorative treatment of surfaces; for the avoidance of bare backgrounds<sup>s</sup> by a more picturesque treatment of the design itself, and the insertion of accessory objects of beauty; for

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<sup>s</sup> In the case of too many coins of Greece proper this is effected by the procrustean process of cutting their background off altogether and covering almost the whole field with the central design. Nothing, for instance, can be nobler than some heads of Zeus and Hêra on the coins of Elis. But they are designed for dies half as large again as those actually used. They remind us of gems torn from their sockets. There is a clipped air about such coins.

infusing the divine forms portrayed with a greater glow of liveliness and life to make up for the golden hair, the flashing eyes and roseate lips, that were beyond the reach of the die-sinker's art, but which, in the case of the greater works of sculpture, might serve to reconcile severer outlines. It was this which the Sicilian engravers instinctively perceived, and it is this which raises them, in their own profession, above the level of their fellow-workers in the greater art centres of the Mother-Country, who seem too often to have misconceived the true conditions of their craft.

Of what this art of the Sicilian coin-engravers was capable at its best, a new and splendid illustration has been now supplied by a recent find brought to light on the slopes, and from beneath the lava, of Mount Etna. The piece in question, which is a principal theme of the present monograph, and which will be of interest not to numismatists only but to all lovers of art in its widest sense, is nothing less than a Syracusan "medallion" by a New Artist. His designs, as shown by this coin, may be set beside the works of the two rival engravers without losing by the comparison, while, in some respects, they strike a higher note than either. The head of Korê, indeed, that he has here created for us, is a vision of beauty, transcending any impersonation of the Maiden Goddess that has been handed down to us from ancient times. It has, moreover, a special value from the light it throws on the same portrait on the dekadrachms of Evænetos, and as supplying a new and un hoped-for standpoint of comparison for surveying the masterpiece of that engraver. And, as will be shown in detail in the course of this study,<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> See p. 243 *seqq.*



there are grounds for believing that the head of Persephonê, as she appears on his famous "medallions," is, in its main outlines, derived from that of the New Artist, though the more modern genius of Evænetos has assimilated and transformed it.

The hoard which contained this unique monument of medallic art has also supplied a new and later version of the "medallion" types of Evænetos, presenting, for the first time, his signature in full. The deposit itself, of which a summary account will be given in the succeeding section, was chiefly composed of Syracusan "medallions," by Kimôn and Evænetos, and this hoard, together with a further important find of Greek and Siculo-Punic coins, recently unearthed in Western Sicily,<sup>10</sup> has supplied some new and valuable data for determining the chronology of these splendid pieces, and for enabling us to solve more than one problem connected with the Syracusan coin types of the last quarter of the Fifth, and the first of the Fourth, Century B.C.

For, great as has been the interest attaching to these "medallions," many of the most elementary questions regarding them remain unsolved. Earlier writers, who judged a Greek type as they would a Roman, had no difficulty in tracing on the panoply on the reverse of these coins a direct reference to a victory in war gained by the Syracusans, though they might differ as to what triumph it commemorated.<sup>11</sup> In more recent times the better view has pre-

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<sup>10</sup> See Appendix A.

<sup>11</sup> So, for example, Don Vincenzo Mirabella, in his *Dichiarazioni della Pianta dell' antice Siracuse e d'alcune scelte Medaglie d'esse* (Naples, 1613, *Medaglie*, p. 29), writes of one of Kimôn's "medallions": "*l'arme . . . poste di sotto, significano quelle de gl'inimici vinti, escludono i pensieri di coloro che han creduto*

vailed that the trophies seen beneath the chariot on the reverse of these coins, coupled, as they are, with the inscription ΑΘΛΑ, must, primarily at least, be referred to an agonistic contest.<sup>12</sup> With regard to the date of these "medallion" issues, again, various views have been put forward, on the grounds of style and epigraphy. The Duc de Luynes attributed them to the last years of Dionysios the Elder, or to the reign of the younger tyrant of the same name.<sup>13</sup> Von Sallet brings down even the earlier work of the Syracusan artist, Phrygillos, to the Fourth Century, "several decennia before Philip of Macedon."<sup>14</sup> Leake considered that the occur-

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*essere stata intagliata per vittoria sacra ò di Gioiuchi Olimpici, ò somiglianti. Resterebbe a vedere; se per qualche congettura potes-  
simo intendere, per qual particolar vittoria fosse ella stata ordi-  
nata, se contra gli Ateniesi, Cartaginesi ò Siciliani, il che certo  
sarebbe temerità, voler di certo affermare."* In spite of this  
caution, he inclines, on account of the great size of the coins,  
to the victory over the Athenians. Havercamp, in his com-  
mentaries on Paruta's *Sicilia Numismatica* (Leyden, 1723, p.  
306), connects these coins with Timoleôn's triumph over the  
Carthaginians.

<sup>12</sup> Eckhel's position (*Doctrina Numorum*, i. 243) is some-  
what intermediate. "Quoniam numi præsentis eximii sunt  
voluminis ac ponderis verisimile est factum aliquo tempore ut  
qui virtute panopliam essent promeriti numis his publice dona-  
rentur. Erunt qui malent hæc præmia ad relatas in ludis victo-  
rias referre. At tum horum erit commemorare etiam exempla  
victores in ludis panoplia donari fuisse solitos." Noehden,  
*Specimens of Ancient Coins of Magna Græcia and Sicily*, p. 42,  
*seqq.*, rightly meets this objection.

<sup>13</sup> *Numismatique des Satrapies* (1846), p. 63. This must be  
considered a rectification of his earlier view (*Revue Numisma-  
tique*, 1840, p. 24), that they belonged to Hiketas' time—a  
conclusion based on the fact that Evænetos' head of Persephonê  
was imitated on Hiketas' gold coinage.

<sup>14</sup> *Künstlerinschriften auf Griechischen Münzen* (1871), p. 40.  
"Die Zeit welcher die Silber- und Kupfermünzen des Phrygillos  
angehören wird durch das kurze O im Stadtnamen, durch die

rence of the  $\Omega$  on the dekadrachms showed that they were later than 403;<sup>15</sup> on the other hand, from the signature **EYAINETO**, on the earlier tetradrachms by Evænetos, he places these in the Fifth Century. His conclusion with regard to the dekadrachms of both artists is, that they belong to the time of Dionysios I. It had been already urged by Payne Knight<sup>16</sup> that it was "to the combination of power, skill, wealth, liberality, and ambition," represented by the Dionysii, that these "medallions" were owing; and this view, which has, as we have seen, met with general favour by numismatists, has derived powerful support from Mr. Head's careful classification of the Syracusan coin-types in his special work on that subject<sup>17</sup> and, again, more recently, in his *Historia Numorum*.<sup>18</sup>

The result of the present inquiry is, in one direction, to confirm the prevalent view so far as it concerns the reign of Dionysios I., but in another direction to go beyond it, and to show that the earliest issues of these "medallions" must be referred to the moment of exultation and expansion that immediately followed the Athenian overthrow. This conclusion is based not only on the evidence brought to light by the recent discoveries but on extensive typographical

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auch bei Eumenos vorkommende Rückseite mit **EYΘ**, und durch die Bustrophedon-Legende des Namens ungefähr bestimmt; man kann die Münzen in das vierte Jahrhundert, mehrere Decennien vor Philipp von Macedonien setzen." Friedländer, *Arch. Zeit.* 81 (1874), p. 102, places the coinage of these dekadrachms in the Fourth Century.

<sup>15</sup> *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature* (2nd series, 1850, p. 361), and cf. *Numismata Hellenica*, p. 73.

<sup>16</sup> *Archæologia*, xix. (1821) p. 374.

<sup>17</sup> *Coins of Syracuse*, pp. 20, 21. Dr. Weil (*Künstlerinschriften, &c.*, p. 30) takes a similar view, carrying back the earliest of these dekadrachms to the end of the Fifth Century.

<sup>18</sup> P. 154.

logical studies, and, in a principal degree, on data supplied by the more or less contemporary coinages of Western Sicily—Greek, Punic, and Elymian. The "medallions" of Evænetos and the commoner of Kimôn's issues may be safely brought within the limits of the Dionysian period. But some earlier specimens of Kimôn's handiwork, the chronological importance of which has been curiously overlooked, perhaps too the noble piece by the New Artist, can be shown to go back to a somewhat earlier date. Moreover, the approximate year to which, by a variety of concordant indications, this first re-issue of *pentêkontalitra* of the old Dâmareteian standard can be traced back corresponds so exactly with the date of the great victory over the Athenians that we are able, as in the case of the prototype struck after Gelôn's defeat of the Carthaginians, to establish an occasion at once religious and historical for this numismatic revival. In other words, the first issue of these later "medallions," with the prize trophy beneath the racing chariot, connects itself in the most natural way with the New Games instituted at Syracuse to commemorate the "crowning mercy" of the Assinaros.

Apart, however, from this numismatic record of one of the most tragic episodes in history, which this inquiry seems to establish, the fresh chronological data brought out by this comparative study lead to some new conclusions regarding the dates of the Syracusan coin-types in general, belonging to the best period of art.

These conclusions, to which attention has already been partly directed in my paper "On some New Artists' Signatures,"<sup>19</sup> tend to throw back what may be called the Period of the Signed Coinage at Syracuse to an earlier date than had hitherto been thought possible. On the other hand,

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<sup>19</sup> *Num. Chron.*, 1890, p. 296 *seqq.*

they expose a lacuna in the tetradrachm coinage during the Dionysian period which suggests some curious numismatic problems.

The result to which we are inevitably led by these typological researches is, that by about 400 B.C., the tetradrachm issues of Syracuse entirely break off. The noble *pentêkontalitra*, from the early days of Dionysios' tyranny onwards struck abundantly by the Syracusan mint, stand forth as the sole representatives of the large silver issue during this period, as if any smaller denomination were unworthy of Syracusan magnificence. What tetradrachms there were in circulation, excepting the survivals from the abundant issues of earlier date, were supplied by the "camp-coinage" of the Carthaginian mercenaries and the autonomous pieces of the half-independent Punic cities of the Island. The small change was, however, to a far larger degree provided by the "Pegasi" or ten-litra staters of the Mother-City, Corinth, and some sister colonies, till such time as the Syracusans began to strike them in their own name. This first coinage of Syracusan "Pegasi" dates, as will be shown by a conclusive example, from the time of Diôn's expedition.

## PART II.

### ON A HOARD CHIEFLY CONSISTING OF SYRACUSAN DEKADRACHMS, FOUND AT SANTA MARIA DI LICODIA, SICILY.

IN January of last year a peasant digging in his plot of land at Santa Maria di Licodia, a small town that lies on one of the Westernmost spurs of Etna, found a pot containing over eighty silver coins, no less than sixty-seven of which were Syracusan dekadrachms or *pentékontalitra*. According to the account given me, the deposit lay beneath a layer of lava. The coins were at once taken into Catania, where I saw them a few days afterwards, and was thus fortunate enough not only to be able to take down a summary record of the contents of this remarkable hoard, but to secure at least temporary possession of some of the most interesting specimens. A portion of the coins, perhaps owing to the action of the lava, had suffered considerably, large parts of the surface having flaked off on one or other of their faces. There were, however, among them about a score of "medallions" in really brilliant condition, including one which from the unique type presented both by its obverse and reverse, and from the marvellous beauty and finish of its design, must take its place among the greatest masterpieces of Syracusan art that have come down to our time. The following is a brief account of the hoard.

## SYRACUSE.

*Dekadrachms by Kimôn.*No. of coins  
in hoard.

1. *Obv.*—Head of Arethusa, in net, in low relief (Type I.). Inscr.  $\Xi$ ΥΡΑΚΟ  $\Xi$ ΙΩΝ.  $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{KI} \\ \text{M} \end{smallmatrix}$  on band of the sphendonê above the forehead.

*Rev.*—Quadriga, &c., in Kimôn's usual style, and **KIMΩN** on exergual line of reverse. (Pl. I., fig. 5. As *B.M. Cat., Syracuse*, No. 100.) 2  
[In good condition.]

2. *Obv.*—Head of Arethusa, in net, in different style and high relief. (Type II., var.) **KI** on band. (It is uncertain whether an inscription also existed on the dolphin beneath the head.)

*Rev.*—As before. Inscription, **ΑΘΛΑ**, visible beneath panoply . . . . . 1

[Somewhat worn; obverse die shows traces of fracture.]

3. *Obv.*—Similar head to No. 2. (Type II., var.) Inscription, **K** on band, which is exceptionally broad. No inscription on dolphin.

*Rev.*—Same. (Cf. Pl. II., fig. 1; *B. M. Cat.* 205, 206.) 2

[Head in one case well preserved, in the other fair. The reverses of both much worn.]

4. *Obv.*—Head as No. 3 but in finer style. (Type III., A.) **K** on band, which is narrower; **KIMΩN** on dolphin.

*Rev.*—As before . . . . . 2

[Well preserved. Of one of these coins I saw only the obverse, the original reverse was probably in bad condition and it had been accordingly sliced off and replaced by a reverse of a medallion by Evænetos, the head of which had been probably defective. This ingenious fraud, which came under my notice some time after the date of the dis-

covery of the hoard, was so well executed that it had already deceived one practised numismatist. It was no doubt executed by the notorious Catanian coin-forger, Bianchi.)

5. *Obv.*—Head of similar type to No. 4, but of coarser workmanship. (Type III., B.) **K** on band and **KIMΩN** on dolphin beneath neck.

*Rev.*—Similar. (*B. M. Cat.* 202, 208). . . . 1

[Obverse well preserved and freshly struck. The reverse, however, seems to have been struck from a die that had become much oxidized.]

*Dekadrachms by Evænetos.*

6. *Obv.*—Head of Persephonê to l., wreathed with barley leaves. Inscr., **ΞΥΡΑΚΟΞΙΩΝ** above; around, four dolphins; and beneath the head full signature, **EYAINETOY**.

*Rev.*—Quadriga, with horses in high action. Nikê above and panoply below (*Pl. V.*, fig. 14; Cf. *B. M. Cat.*, *Syracuse*, 175, &c.) . . . . 1  
[In brilliant preservation.]

7. *Obv.*—Head of Persephonê wreathed with barley leaves as before. Signature **EYAINÊ** more or less visible beneath the head.

*Rev.*—Quadriga, with horses in high action, and arms below. In one instance the inscription **ΑΘΛΑ** was visible below. (*Pl. V.*, fig. 13; *B. M. Cat.* 175.) . . . . 15

[In various states of preservation. Some brilliant. The reverses especially had in some cases much suffered from sulphurous action; in other instances the reverse die showed signs of wear and oxidization.]

8. *Obv.*—Similar, but **Δ** beneath chin; **EYAINÊ**, as before, beneath head.

*Rev.*—Similar. (*Pl. V.*, fig. 12; *B. M. Cat.* No. 173.) 4

[Fair preservation, but in one case the reverse die had been in a foul (probably oxidized) condition when the coin was struck.]



9. *Obv.*—Similar, but no signature or letter in f.  
visible.<sup>1</sup>
- Rev.*—Similar . . . . . 15  
[Various states of preservation. The reverses especially had in several instances much suffered from sulphurous action.]
10. *Obv.*—Similar head, &c. No signature or letter in f.  
Globule under chin.
- Rev.*—Similar. (*B. M. Cat.* 179.) . . . . . 7  
[Mostly badly preserved.]
11. *Obv.*—Similar head, &c. No signature or letter in f.  
Dot or globule beneath chin, and behind head, cockleshell.
- Rev.*—Similar . . . . . 1  
[Fair, but reverse die had been considerably worn before the coin was struck.]
12. *Obv.*—Similar head, &c. No dot beneath chin, but cockleshell behind head.
- Rev.*—Similar. (*Pl. V.* 11; *B. M. Cat.* 186.) . . . . . 13  
[Various states of preservation, from fine to indifferent.]
13. *Obv.*—Similar head; no dot; behind head a star of eight rays.
- Rev.*—Similar. (*B. M. Cat.* 185.) . . . . . 1  
[Somewhat worn.]
14. *Obv.*—Similar head. Behind, to r., a head of a griffin.
- Rev.*—Similar. (*B. M. Cat.* 187.) . . . . . 1  
[Indifferently preserved.]

*Dekadrachm by a New Artist.*

15. *Obv.*—Head of Persephone in a severer style, and with more flowing hair. Inscription:  $\epsilon\text{Υ}\text{Ρ}\text{Α}\text{Κ}\text{Ο}\epsilon\text{Ι}\text{Ω}\text{Ν}$ , removed to lower circumference of coin.

<sup>1</sup> It is, however, probable that had these coins been better struck the signature **EYAINÉ** would have been found.

No. of coins  
in hoard.

*Rev.*—Quadriga, &c., in new style, passing stand (?); action of horses less high and more rhythmic; arms larger and more ornate; and inscription, **ΑΘΛΑ**, in large letters above shield. In r. hand corner of exergue, signature **ΝΚ** or **ΗΚ** (?) in microscopic characters. Pl. IV., and p. 234, fig. 1. (For full description, v. *infra*, p. 231 *seqq.*) . . . . . 1

[Brilliant condition.]

*Syracusan Tetradrachms.*

16. *Obv.*—Dâmareteion type. (*B. M. Cat.* 64.) . . . . . 1  
[Worn.]

17. *Obv.*—Style of Eumenês . . . . . 2  
[Somewhat worn.]

18. *Obv.*—**ΞΥΡΑΚΟΞΙΟΞ**. By Eukleidas (?) (*As B. M. Cat.* 192.)

*Rev.*—*As B. M. Cat.* 194, &c. . . . . 1  
[Well preserved.]

19. *Obv.*—[**ΞΥΡΑΚΟΞΙΩΝ**]. Female head to r. in *korymbos*. (*B. M. Cat.* 180.) (Cf. p. 350, fig. 10).

*Rev.*—Persephonê, &c. (*B. M. Cat.* 224.) . . . . . 1  
[In bad condition.]

20. *Obv.*—[**ΞΥΡ** . . . .] By Phrygillos: traces of insc. **ΦΡΥ** on band of *sphendonê*. (See *Num. Chron.* 1890, Pl. XVIII, 6b. Cf. *B. M. Cat.* 158.)

*Rev.*—Probably by Evarchidas (v. *infra*, p. 335). Persephonê holding torch, crowned by Nikê, who also holds aplustre. (Cf. *B. M. Cat.* 224.) . . . . . 1  
[A good deal oxidized, otherwise fair.]

MESSANA. *Tetradrachms.*

21. Transitional type: olive-leaf beneath biga (*B. M. Cat.* 26.) . . . . . 1  
[Worn.]



There were, in addition to the above, a certain number of "Pegasi," but these had unfortunately been mixed up by the owner with a quantity of similar coins from another source.

It may be convenient first to consider the few non-Syracusan coins discovered in this remarkable deposit. Of these the tetradrachm of Motya, the obverse of which represents a copy by a Siculo-Punic artist of the profile head of Arethusa in the net, as seen on Kimôn's dekadrachms, is of the greatest rarity. The Selinuntine reverse type, on which a large barley spike shoots up behind the chariot, appears to be a new variety.<sup>2</sup> The most important among the non-Syracusan coins found in the Santa Maria hoard is unquestionably the Messanian tetradrachm already published in the *Numismatic Chronicle*.<sup>3</sup>

Of the Syracusan tetradrachms contained in the hoard, the most remarkable was that with an obverse signed by the artist Phrygillos, associated with a reverse type by the newly discovered engraver Evarchidas, about which enough has also been said in the above-cited paper.

It is, however, with the Syracusan dekadrachms constituting the great bulk—sixty-seven out of eighty—of the Santa Maria deposit, that we are on the present occasion specially concerned. Of these, eight were the work of Kimôn, fifty-eight of Evænetos, and one of a hitherto unknown artist.

In the case of both of the two former engravers, the hoard supplies internal evidence that the issue of these silver fifty-litra pieces must at the time of their deposit

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<sup>2</sup> This coin has since been acquired for the Museum of Palermo.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. x. 3rd Ser. (1890), p. 285 *seqq.* *New Artists' Signatures on Sicilian Coins.*

have been already many years in duration. Not only do we find a considerable variety of types, but the signs of wear displayed by many of the coins show that they had been already several years in circulation. Other examples again afford interesting evidence that the dies themselves had in some cases suffered considerable damage in the course of use. Thus the obverse die of No. 2, signed by Kimôn, had sustained a fracture, and, on the other hand, the reverse dies of several dekadrachms of Evænetos and one of Kimôn were evidently in a very foul condition at the time that the coins were struck, the impressions showing evident traces of the oxidization of the matrices.<sup>4</sup> The reverse dies in other cases had been much worn.<sup>5</sup>

The dekadrachms signed by Kimôn, which—for reasons to be fully stated later on—I have placed first in my list, afford interesting evidence of artistic evolution. The earliest of his Arethusa heads, No. 1, is executed in the flat relief of the preceding Syracusan coinage, and stands, as we shall see, in an intimate relation to an early tetradrachm type of Evænetos. To this succeeds the effigy in bold relief, of which, however, there is traceable an earlier and a later class. Of the earlier class, No. 3 is a good example; it approaches the flatter original head in the broad character of the sphendonê band above the forehead. Finally, on the third class exemplified by the obverse of 4 and 5 the band is narrower. These classes have been distinguished in my list as Types I., II., and III.

The dekadrachms of Evænetos found in this deposit consist of nine main types,<sup>6</sup> and as in the case of Kimôn's

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<sup>4</sup> Cf. especially Nos. 5, 7, and 8.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Nos. 7, 11.

<sup>6</sup> Owing to the somewhat summary study of the bulk of these coins, to which, by the circumstances of the case, I was

coinages, show greater variety in the obverse than in the reverse designs. The types represented in the find are already known, with one remarkable exception, but some of the specimens are of interest from their brilliant condition and the illustration that they supply of variations on points of detail. The reverse of a specimen of No. 12 (Pl. V. fig. 10) exhibits a very beautiful figure of Nikê, with a waving top-knot on her head, a feature not yet noticed on these coins. It is remarkable that in only a single case, the very beautiful coin reproduced on Pl. V. fig. 12, was the legend **ΑΘΛΑ** beneath the arms in the exergue clearly defined. The obverse head of this piece, beneath which the upper part of the signature **EYAINÉ** is visible, is also of extraordinary merit, and with the fine coin with **Δ** in the field reproduced in Pl. V. fig. 11, gives a good idea of the masterpieces of this artist at his best.

From a comparison of the style of the different types represented, it results that some of the unsigned dekadrachms are slightly anterior in date to the earliest of those on which the signature of Evænetos appears. These early characteristics are especially noteworthy on the coins with a cockle behind the head of Korê (Pl. IV., fig. 10), which are conspicuous for their larger and grander rendering of the Goddess's head, as well as for the less sensational character of the chariot group on the reverse. Of the signed dekadrachms, the earliest seem to be those reading "**EYAINÉ**," accompanied by the letter **Δ** in the field, which in all probability must be regarded as an indication of value, and as standing for *Δεκάδραχμον*.

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obliged to restrict myself, I have not in the case of Evænetos' coins attempted to indicate all the varieties of die or of detail in the arrangement of the civic inscription.

Of all the types of Evænetos represented in this hoard, the latest is unquestionably No. 6, on which the signature appears at full length as **EYAINETOY**.<sup>7</sup> This interesting type seems to be altogether unpublished. No coin with this inscription or of this type exists either in the National Collection or in any to which I have had access. A single example of this type occurred in the present hoard, and a phototype of it is given on Pl. V. fig. 14. It will be seen that the head of Korê on this coin is remarkably small and lacks the grandeur of some of Evænetos' earlier works. The hair is less wavy and luxuriant. The quadriga shows very high action and belongs to the more sensational reverse types of this artist. The weight of this dekadrachm is 663 grains (42.9 grammes).

The most remarkable discovery brought to light by the present hoard is, however, unquestionably the dekadrachm summarily described under No. 15. It represents the work of a new and hitherto unknown artist on the Syracusan dies, and though the head of Korê that it exhibits shows distinct affinities to the type of Evænetos, both the obverse and reverse of this truly magnificent piece present specialities of style, design, and epigraphy which place it in a category by itself.

Leaving this coin to be fully described and discussed in the following section, and taking a retrospective survey of the hoard as a whole, we may obtain a few indications

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<sup>7</sup> In *Historia Numorum*, p. 154, the full inscription **EYAINETOY** is cited as accompanying the coin referred to as Fig. 100, which is taken from a specimen in the British Museum (*Cat.* No. 178) and in which the  $\Delta$  appears in the field of the obverse. Mr. Head, however, informs me that this is due to a printer's error, and that the last three letters of the signature should have been in brackets. The full legend **EYAINETOY**, as seen on the Santa Maria piece is associated with a much later head. This coin is now in Mr. H. Montagu's cabinet.

bearing on the date of its deposit. The general character of tetradrachm types associated with the "medallions," is unquestionably somewhat earlier than we should have otherwise expected. Yet it must be observed that the same peculiarity was present in an even more marked degree in the important find of coins recently made in Western Sicily, described by Professor Salinas, in which dekadrachms, both of Kimôn and Evænetos, were associated with Sicilian tetradrachm types, the great bulk of which belonged to the period when  $\Theta$  was still in use in place of  $\Omega$ .

Of the present find the coin of Selinûs showed the older epigraphy, as did two of the Messanian tetradrachms, while the third of that city illustrated the transition from  $\Theta$  to  $\Omega$ , the older form being adhered to in the civic name, the new appearing in the name of the Nymph Pelôrias. Of the Syracusan tetradrachms, one belonged to the older Dâmareteian type, two were the work of Eumenês, one, No. 18, probably by Eukleidas, who uses the form  $\xi\text{YPAKO}\xi\text{IO}\xi$ , which skilfully avoids the necessity of pronouncing between the older and the newer letter-form, and may be regarded as a characteristic product of the time of transition. The obverse of the coin signed by Phrygillos (No. 20), unfortunately does not show the termination of the civic inscription, but this artist employs both forms of orthography. No. 19 alone, though very badly preserved, unquestionably originally bore the inscription  $\xi\text{YPAKO}\xi\text{ION}$ .

It would, I think, be unsafe to bring down any of these types beyond 405 B.C., while most of them are certainly anterior to 410. On the other hand, from the fact that on the dekadrachms the use of the newer form of  $\Omega$  is universal, and that at the time when this hoard was



deposited many of them had evidently been several years in circulation, it is probable that the more recent, at least, belong to a distinctly later date than any of the tetradrachms with which they were associated.

Santa Maria di Licodia, where the present hoard was discovered, corresponds, approximately at least, with the site of the Sikel stronghold of Inëssa that lay between Hadranum and the Galeatic Hybla, on the ledge of lower hills immediately below Mount Etna to the South-West.<sup>8</sup> On the removal hither of the population of Hierôn's Ætna from Katanê, in 461, this city succeeded to the name of Ætna, by which it was henceforth known. The successful operations of the Carthaginians during the first years of the Fourth Century B.C. against Messana and Katanê, induced Dionysios to withdraw to this place the Campanian mercenaries, hitherto stationed, in the Syracusan interest,<sup>9</sup> at the latter city, and henceforth, to Timoleôn's time, Ætna became a stronghold of the Dionysian dynasty.

Considering that the site of the present discovery lies in the neighbourhood of Katanê, with which Ætna-Inëssa was historically so intimately connected, the entire absence of Katanæan coins from this hoard itself affords strong evidence that it was withdrawn from circulation at a period when the autonomous coinage of Katanê itself had for some time ceased, while, on the other hand, the fact that seventy-three out of eighty coins were from Syracusan dies points strongly to the conclu-

<sup>8</sup> *Strabo*, vi., 2, 8, and 23. Freeman, *Sicily*, vol. i. p. 148.

<sup>9</sup> *Diodôros*, lib. xiv. c. 60. The Campanian mercenaries seem to have withdrawn to Ætna between the capture of Messana by Himilkôn in 396 B.C., and the capture of Katanê which resulted on the naval victory of Magôn. For a moment Ætna became the headquarters of Dionysios himself.

sion that the date of its deposit lies well within the limits of the Dionysian period.

From the fact, already noticed, that many of the dies used were cracked and oxidized, and that nearly all the chief known varieties of "medallions," both by Kimôn and Evænetos, were represented in the hoard, it is evident that their issue had gone on for a considerable period of years before the date of its deposit. In a succeeding section I hope to show that the earliest Syracusan dekadrachms were first struck during the years that immediately succeeded the Athenian siege, those of Evænetos beginning about 406 B.C. This artist had already, at an earlier date, perhaps as early as 425 B.C., engraved tetradrachms in an earlier "manner" for the Syracusan mint. If we allow another score of years for the period of his later activity, which also shows a marked development in style, his latest "medallion" dies would reach down approximately to 385 B.C. It is, however, by no means impossible that the dies of both Kimôn and Evænetos may have been used for some time at least after those artists had ceased their activity; and the state to which some of the dies used for the coins of the present deposit had been reduced may be held to favour this view.

On the other hand, however, the absence from this hoard of Siculo-Punic tetradrachms of the later types imitated from Evænetos' "medallions," which are otherwise of constant occurrence in this as well as other parts of Sicily, is a significant fact. The coins of Hêrakleia Minôa (Rash Melkart) struck in the period immediately succeeding 383 B.C., when Dionysios restored it to the Carthaginians, show that soon after that date these Punic copies of Evænetos' head of Korê and the accompanying quadriga had become the usual types of

Carthaginian Sicily. That "Camp coins" with these types had been struck at Panormos or elsewhere at a somewhat earlier period than the autonomous issues of Rash Melkart is undeniable, and there seem to be good grounds for believing that the introduction of the type of Evænetos' Persephonê, on the coins struck by Carthage for her Sicilian mercenaries, was part of the atonement for the violation of the Syracusan sanctuary of "The Goddesses" by the troops of Himilkôn in 395 B.C.<sup>10</sup> The absence of any specimen of this abundant Siculo-Punic class from the present hoard makes it difficult to bring down the date of its deposit many years later than 380 B.C.

Hoards of coins may be divided into two main categories—those, namely, which represent the character of the local currency at the moment of their burial, and those the accumulation of which has been more gradual, and which, therefore, represent selections from the current coinage of a more or less extended period of years. It is to this latter class that the present find unquestionably belongs. Many of the coins found in this deposit, which are, typologically, the earliest, such as, for instance, the "medallions" in Kimôn's first style of low relief, are, nevertheless, among the best preserved. It is evident that in this hoard we have the savings of some individual put by year by year, and the comparative state of preservation of the different types contained in it does not, therefore, supply us with the same chronological data that would have been derived from a hoard of the other kind.

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<sup>10</sup> Cf. L. Müller, *Numismatique de l'ancienne Afrique*, ii., pp. 110, 111.

### PART III.

#### A DEKADRACHM BY A NEW ARTIST.

THE great prize of the Santa Maria hoard remains, however, to be described. This is the dekadrachm (fig. 1, p.234) of which a phototype, enlarged to twice the diameter, appears on Plate IV.

The obverse exhibits the head of Persephonê to the left, wreathed with barley-leaves, and with four dolphins playing around as in Evænetos' well-known design. The present type, however, differs in important particulars from all known examples of Evænetos' handiwork. The face of the Goddess as here seen, beautiful as it is, reveals her to us in a new and severer aspect. The quadriga on the reverse, and the panoply below it, appear on a grander scale, and upon both sides of the coin the inscription is differently arranged. A careful analysis of the design, both on the obverse and reverse of this superb "medallion," shows divergences of style and execution that betray a different hand. The microscopic delicacy of the engraving on the present coin is indeed alone sufficient to place it in a category apart, and a minute comparison, which I had the advantage of making in Mr. Head's company, between this piece and the fine series of dekadrachms from the hand of Evænetos in the British Museum, convinced us both that the newly discovered

"medallion" could not be the work of that artist during any period of his activity.

The eyes of the Maiden Goddess, as portrayed for us on the present coin, are longer in proportion to their height<sup>1</sup> and rendered more in accordance with the earlier tradition. The angle at which the upper and lower eyelids meet is less than in the case of Evænetos' work, the pupil of the eye is somewhat smaller and, except where slightly cut by the line of the upper eyelid, visible in its entirety, in contradistinction to those of the other artist, which are always more or less in profile.

In these respects the proportions of the eye show a greater affinity to those observed by the engraver Kimôn in his dekadrachms exhibiting the head of Arethusa in high relief. The present delineation is, however, of unrivalled delicacy. Both the pupil and iris are indicated with microscopic fineness, and the upper line of the under eyelid reveals a peculiarity which at once links it on to the work of the earlier Syracusan masters, as distinguished from that of the later school represented by Evænetos. In the age preceding the date of the engraver Eumenês<sup>2</sup> the under eyelashes were often fully reproduced. Eumenês himself at times reduced them to a mere line of dots, and after

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<sup>1</sup> The length of the upper eyelid is 0.36 mill. as compared with 0.25 mill., the approximate average on fine signed coins of Evænetos. The length of the lower is 0.25 mill. as compared with 0.20 mill. The height of the eye itself is 0.14 mill. as compared with about 0.16. On the other hand the proportions of the eyes on the new "medallion" almost exactly tally with those of Kimôn's Arethusa head on his dekadrachms of high relief. These Kimônian dimensions may be approximately given as 0.35 mill. for the length of the upper eyelid, 0.25 for that of the lower, and 0.15 for the height of the eye between the upper and lower lids.

<sup>2</sup> For this form of the name see p. 264.

his time they disappear from the Syracusan dies. Beneath the eye of Korê, however, as she is here depicted, the lashes are still traceable in a series of minute punctuations, so finely engraved on the upper edge of the lid that they are only visible to ordinary sight with the aid of a strong lens.

The nose is more purely "Grecian" and free from the slight incurving at its spring that characterizes Evænetos' profiles, both early and late. It is more delicately modelled, and shows no trace of that slight heaviness about the nostrils that always somewhat weights the beautiful face of the Goddess as she appears on the rival dies. The outline of the neck flows in a softer undulation; the bow of the chin is not so full. The lips are more crisply cut, and a prouder, perchance a sadder, expression hovers about their corners. It is as if the fatal pomegranate-seed had passed them and left its taste of immortal bitterness. In proportion to the module of the coin the maximum relief is a shade lower,<sup>3</sup> but the locks of hair, the ear and cornwreath are, nevertheless, more deeply engraved. The curving spikes and folded sheaths of the barley-spray are themselves rendered with greater fulness and naturalistic detail.

But besides these more subtle discrepancies which reveal themselves on a minute analysis of the type before us, there are other differences in arrangement and design that must strike the most casual observer. The inscription  $\Sigma\text{ΥΡΑΚΟ}\Sigma\text{ΙΩΝ}$ , which on all other coins of this class surrounds the upper part of Persephonê's head, is

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<sup>3</sup> The greatest relief of the head is in this case 0.29 millimetre above the flat surface of the coin. In the case of a fine dekadrachm of Evænetos in the British Museum (with the inscription  $\Delta$ ) the relief is 0.33 mill.

here with fine artistic instinct transferred to the lower circumference of the coin, thus occupying the space reserved by Evænetos for his signature on some of his dekadrachms. The field is thus set free for a new and luxuriant development of "the Maiden's" curling tresses, which flow upwards and outwards, and seem "to wanton in Sicilian air," while others twine like bindweed about the curving spikes of the corn-blades. Beneath and in front are the usual four dolphins which define the



Fig. 1. "Medallion" by New Artist.

character of the young Earth Goddess here as Lady of Ortygia—in a wider sense, perhaps, as Lady of the Isle of Sicily—but the ampler field around has enabled the artist in this case to endow them with fuller and more graceful forms, and thus to introduce minute naturalistic details such as the double ring round the eye-socket. They are as nearly as possible one-third larger than the dolphins on Evænetos' dies,<sup>4</sup> and the lower of the four is placed in immediate contact with the section of Persephonê's neck, so that it seems to bear up her head.

<sup>4</sup> The average maximum breadth of the dolphins' bodies on this coin is 0.28 mill. as compared with an average of about 0.19 mill. on signed dekadrachms of Evænetos. The average length is 1.36 mill. as compared with 1.25 mill.

The reverse type of this remarkable "medallion" stands equally apart from other coins of the same class. We have here, indeed, as upon the ordinary dekadrachm dies, the victorious quadriga and the panoply below, but we see them in a new and grander aspect, and with important variations in the character of the inscription and the design.

It cannot be denied that in the disposition of the horses' hind legs upon the dekadrachms of Evænetos there is an element of discord. They intersect one another at broken intervals, and in every variety of the design an ungraceful feature is supplied by two hind-legs of the second horse being placed on the ground together, an arrangement which is besides an impossible one, since it involves a prolongation of the horse itself to over half its natural length, while the foremost horse, on the contrary, is unduly shortened. In the action of the team, moreover, there is perceptible a tendency towards that sensationalism which is so characteristic of the tetradrachm types by the same artist, with their tangled and trailing reins, broken chariot wheels, and overset goals.

On the newly-discovered piece, on the other hand, though the distance between the fore and hind-legs of the foremost horse is still too small, the scheme as a whole is severely controlled within the limits of sobriety and harmony. The horses step together in perfect rhythm as if to the music of some stately pæan, and it is less the straining of the racer that is here portrayed for us than the crowned victor's measured course. The steeds themselves are of full and noble build, and entirely free from that slight attenuation of body which is the defect of Evænetos' more agitated compositions. They impress us with an overpowering sense of largeness altogether dis-



proportionate to the field that holds them. We seem to be surveying a reduction of some great work of bronze or marble, and indeed it would be hard to match the blended power and beauty of the group before us outside the Parthenôn frieze.

A new feature is supplied in the present design, of which there is no trace on any known dekadrachm. This is the appearance beneath the forepart of the second horse of an angular ridge, the continuation of which may be traced above its head.<sup>5</sup> The effect produced in a perpendicular direction is identical with that exhibited below horizontally by the steps on which the arms are set out, and gives the spectator the appearance of a corner of masonry rather than of an Ionic column, such as by the analogy of other Sicilian coins we should expect were this intended to indicate the goal. It is further to be observed that, as the horses ran against the sun, the goal would have been on the left, which is here the nearer side.<sup>6</sup> It is possible therefore that the ridge in the background here represents the angle of a monument that overlooked the course and the extremity of which, here represented, marked the winning-line on the side opposite to that on which stood the columnar goal. It is from the summit of the erection thus indicated that Nikê flies forward to crown the charioteer, and it seems possible that we have here an indication of a stand on which the judges sat who decided on the issue of the race, Victory herself, whose statue, perhaps, crowned the whole, here standing for the more mortal arbiters of the contest.

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<sup>5</sup> This continuation of the line above the horse's head shows that this feature in the design is intentional, and that it cannot be referred to a mere flaw in the die.

<sup>6</sup> As, for instance, on the reverse of a tetradrachm of Katanê, signed by Evænetos (*B. M. Cat. No. 35*).

In this connexion it will be remembered that on more than one ancient monument—some coins of Elis and Terina may be taken as numismatic examples—Nikê is seen perched aloft on a base or cippus, and the explanation of this may probably be seen in a design on a beautiful red-figured vase found at Chiusi, the main subject of which is a wrestling match between two youths.<sup>7</sup> Here Victory is seen seated above on a high basis or "stand" watching the match below, and evidently in the position of the umpire.

Another feature in which the present design differs from that of all other known dekadrachms is to be seen in the perfectly horizontal position of the goad held by the charioteer, the further end of which is hidden behind the horses' heads. In every other case the goad is held aslant, its upper portion visible above the horses' heads. Its level aim on the coin before us harmonizes well with the even action of the team itself, and seems to regulate their perfect time.

The arrangement of the reins again essentially differs from that adopted by Evænetos, and presents a much closer agreement with that of Kimôn. On Kimôn's dekadrachms, which present the particularity of exhibiting the up-turned end of the chariot pole, the nearer rein ascends and forks into two bridles, one on either side of the nearer horse's head. Two reins are seen across the necks of the two central horses, while the outermost horse on the farther side of the quadriga is controlled like the first by a single bridle on either side. On Evænetos' dekadrachms the reins radiate more slightly from the hand of the charioteer; of these all four cross the neck of the nearest horse, three that of the second, two of the third,

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<sup>7</sup> In the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford.

while the farthest horse is governed, on the side visible to the spectator, by a single rein which passes over the necks of all the others—a remarkable arrangement, which was doubtless resorted to in order to secure a greater control of the horses in rounding the goal.<sup>8</sup> It is obvious that at that critical point in the course a greater pull is required on the two outermost horses, which would have a tendency to fly off at a tangent, and this additional hold on them was apparently gained by passing the reins over the breasts of the two inner horses, so that they served as a kind of living pulley to the outermost. It is the moment of turning that Evænetos has here depicted for us. The outermost steed, pricked by the goad, springs forward, wheeling to the left, while with his left hand the charioteer draws in the reins so as to pull round the nearer horses.

In the case of the New “Medallion,” on the other hand, we find, as already observed, that the arrangement of the reins differs entirely from that adopted by Evænetos on his dekadrachms,<sup>9</sup> while showing a closer agreement with that of Kimôn. The reins here start straight and level from the driver’s hands, while a single rein runs across the neck of each, dividing into two before it reaches the horse’s bit. The horses themselves step together and the horizontally extended goad well indicates that all is now straightforward. It is no longer the turning in the course that we have before us here. It is victorious arrival.

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<sup>8</sup> Since this was written I notice that the same explanation had occurred to the Duc de Luynes (*Ann. dell’ Inst.* 1880, p. 86).

<sup>9</sup> On his tetradrachms (which are of a decidedly earlier date than his dekadrachms) Evænetos conforms to the arrangement found on the new dekadrachm. This arrangement was in fact the usual one, both on coins and other monuments of this period.

Equal distribution and even-handed government characterise the whole of this noble composition. On the other hand, the treatment of the horses' manes affords a strong piece of internal evidence that this magnificent design is from the graver of the same artist who executed the luxuriant tresses of Persephonê as she appears upon the obverse of our "medallion." While upon all the hitherto-known dekadrachms by Evænetos and Kimôn the manes of the horses are regular and close-cropped, they are here seen curling upwards over the horses' foreheads and toss about their necks in waving locks. The hair of the charioteer also attains a new development and streams behind him in the breeze.

The prize armour in the exergue is exhibited in its entirety. It is of larger make than that of the known dekadrachm types, it differs in arrangement, and presents a greater variety of detail. The shield is broader and more shapely. The crest of the helmet rises over the exergual line; its upper part is decorated with a kind of *anthémion*, and its cheek-piece exhibits a relief, apparently a seated Sphinx. Sprays of foliage, perhaps of olive, run along the sides of the greaves, and the front of the cuirass and border of the shield show traces of ornament; the *thorax* is turned to the left instead of to the right as on all other "medallions." The most striking divergence from the received type is, however, to be seen in the legend ΑΘΛΑ, which, instead of being relegated in small type to the narrow space beneath the cuirass, in the very rare cases where it is preserved at all,<sup>10</sup> is here inscribed in large letters

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<sup>10</sup> Among fifteen more or less select dekadrachms of Evænetos in the British Museum, the inscription ΑΘΛΑ is only legible on a single specimen. In the Cabinet des Médailles at Paris, which is especially rich in this department, the proportion is

across the open space above the shield. As a consequence of this arrangement the *thorax*, which on all other dekadrachm types occupies the exact centre of the space below the quadriga, is pushed somewhat to the right, the slight overweighting of that side of the exergue that might seem to ensue being skilfully counterbalanced by the angle of masonry that rises above the exergual line on the other side. Finally, in the corner behind the helmet are traces of what appears to be a small monogram somewhat resembling HK or NK, with possibly another letter.

In this monogram we cannot hesitate to seek the name of the engraver of the "medallion" itself. Unfortunately, it is not clear enough on the coin to supply a certain reading, but so much may be regarded as certain that no ingenuity can connect it with the name of Evænetos.

The minute analysis of the design already given has enabled us to detect such an array of divergencies, alike in style and detail, from all the known works of Evænetos, that even without the signature we should be justified in concluding that the die of this remarkable dekadrachm was executed by another hand. That slight varieties exist among the dekadrachm dies of the rival artists is of course well known. But amongst all these variations, certain fixed limits are laid down which are never overpassed. The place of the legend on both obverse and reverse, the eyes, profile, and expression of the Goddess, the general arrangement of her hair, of the reins and goad in the hands of the charioteer, the distribution of the legs

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about the same. On the remaining dekadrachms of the Santa Maria hoard it was only preserved in two examples—one on a coin by Evænetos (Pl. V., fig. 12), and the other, but imperfectly, on a coin signed by Kimôn.

of the horses, their cropped manes and the absence of the perpendicular ridge behind, the character and position of the armour in the exergue—these are so many constant features on the whole series of Evænetos' "medallions" every one of which is set aside in the present instance.

It might, perhaps, be argued, on the other hand, that we have here a record of an attempt of Evænetos' great rival and contemporary, the engraver Kimôn, to excel him in his own chosen subject, the head of the youthful Goddess, or that we have here from Kimôn's hands the original of the type which Evænetos afterwards made his own. Attention has already been called to certain features in which the obverse head of the newly discovered piece shows a distinct sympathy with Kimôn's style of portraiture. The eye and profile of Persephonê as here delineated, the dolphin below her neck and the folds of the neck itself, are all Kimônian. The extreme delicacy and minuteness of the work is more nearly approached by some of Kimôn's earliest dekadrachms of lower relief than by any of Evænetos. The flowing locks of the Goddess may themselves recall the facing head of Arethusa by the former artist. Upon the reverse, again, the arrangement of the reins corresponds with that on Kimôn's dies. The figure of the flying Nikê betrays the same affinity.

It must, however, be borne in mind, that all the known *pentêkontalitra* from the hand of this engraver are associated on the obverse with the head of Arethusa, and that all are signed both on the obverse and reverse. The reverse signatures, moreover, are all in full on the exergual line, and neither the method nor position corresponds with the present example. In the monogram—if monogram it be—on the New "Medallion" a K indeed apparently occurs, but it does not seem to be the initial letter, and

the abbreviated forms of Kimôn's signature known to us are either a single **K** or **KI** or **KIM**.

The chariot and horses again here presented differ as radically from those on any known dekadrachm of Kimôn as from those of Evænetos. Kimôn's reverse types are indeed unvarying. From his earliest "medallion" with the head in low relief to his latest work in high relief, we have the same scheme of the quadriga, two of the horses of which have their hinder pair of legs placed together on the ground, a scheme which is the starting point of Evænetos' types, who, however, diminishes the ungainliness of the effect by confining himself to a single pair in this position.<sup>11</sup> How different from this is the rhythmic movement of the horses' legs on the new "medallion"! It is inconceivable that an artist who had once hit on a design so beautiful and harmonious should have reverted to such a comparatively crude and ungraceful scheme. If we turn again to the panoply below, it will be seen that Kimôn's arrangement answers in every respect to that adhered to by Evænetos. The cuirass is placed in the centre, the shield and helmet balanced against each other, while the **ΑΘΛΑ** is transferred to the lowest exergual space in small letters. The armour itself is of comparatively diminutive size, and the cuirass is turned to the right.

On the whole, then, in spite of some sympathies exhibited in the style, we are reduced to the conclusion that

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<sup>11</sup> It is observable, however, that whereas Kimôn's scheme is, so far as it goes, a possible arrangement and is reconcileable with the horses' dimensions, that of Evænetos is impossible, and requires us to stretch the body of the second horse to half an additional length (see p. 235). The motive of the hind legs set together on the ground is simply a *survival* from the Archaic and early Transitional coin-types.

there is no warrant for regarding the present "medallion" as the work of Kimôn any more than of Evænetos. We have no alternative left but to recognise in this masterpiece of artistic skill the work of a new and hitherto unknown engraver of the dekadrachm dies of Syracuse. The work itself stands apart from the tradition alike of Kimôn and Evænetos, and represents an independent essay of the highest merit in this branch of numismatic art.

It will, nevertheless, be observed that the fine head of Persephonê on the present coin stands in a very close relation to Evænetos' rendering of the same subject. Up to a certain point one artist has copied from the other. The same is true with regard to certain features on the reverse, and notably the introduction of the armour grouped on the steps beneath the chariot.

The interesting questions remain—To whom is due the original—at least, so far as concerns numismatic art—of this exquisite type of the young Goddess? By which of the two artists was first suggested the magnificent combination of the prize arms with the victorious quadriga? In other words, must the issue of the piece before us be regarded as earlier or later than that of the first dekadrachms of Evænetos?

In this connexion it becomes important to consider in what relation the present dekadrachm stands to Syracusan types of the earliest period of the signed coinage, and that immediately preceding it.

The luxuriant development of Persephonê's hair is, as already noticed, somewhat suggestive of Kimôn's masterpiece, the facing head of Arethusa (Pl. III., 4, 5). The flowing curls of our coin find also a certain analogy in the tetradrachms of Eukleidas, struck about the year 415 B.C., which apparently portray the nymph Arethusa diving



down into her pool with her tresses streaming upwards. A ruder but in some respects still nearer precedent is, however, supplied by a tetradrachm type from the hand of the older master Eumenês, in which a female head is seen bound round twice with a cord, while above and below loose curling tresses flow out from the whole crown of the head.



Fig. 2. Head, by Eumenês.

In the evolution of the head of Persephonê upon the dekadrachm before us, this earlier type has evidently played a part, and the incurving of the lower part of the back hair is itself a decorative "survival" of the impress made upon it by the cord that confined it on the earlier design. The upper boundary of this cluster of hair is again marked by a depression which represents the channel, if such a term is applicable, of the second cord that confines the back tresses of the prototype. The upper line of the cord, moreover, as it crosses the top of the head, seems actually to suggest the line followed by the uppermost spike of the barley-wreath on the dekadrachm.

The Syracusan coin types grow; they are not, as a rule, invented off-hand and without reference to pre-existing monetary traditions. Great as is the advance on the ruder work of Eumenês and other older artists exhibited by the noble dekadrachm types, surpassing as was the

artistic skill with which the earlier details were absorbed and transformed into what, to the unhistoric observer, may seem purely original compositions, traces may yet be found in their beautiful and harmonious lines of the older elements out of which they were evolved.

The head of Arethusa as she appears on Kimôn's fifty-litra pieces may be traced back in the same way as the design before us to a traditional type handed on by Eumenês to his successors<sup>12</sup>. Taken in connexion with the tetradrachm head by the same Eumenês, exhibiting a perfect halo of curling tresses, the effigy of Korê as she appears on the newly discovered "medallion" has for us a new interest, as supplying, as it were, an intermediate link between this older creation and the head of the Goddess as she appears on the well-known dekadrachm series of Evænetos. And so far as the present type shows a greater approach to this pre-existing design, so far it supplies us with an argument for regarding it as anterior in development and date to the dekadrachm heads of Evænetos. If this conclusion be correct, we must suppose that Evænetos restored the civic inscription to its more usual place around the head, at the cost of some of Korê's superabundant tresses. In the treatment of the eye, again, as already pointed out, the better perspective of Evænetos' rendering represents a distinctly later stage of artistic development. The purer Greek profile, and the comparatively large size of the dolphins on the new "medallion," are also characteristic of an earlier period.

The inference to which we are thus led by an internal analysis of the obverse type of our dekadrachm, that it represents rather the original than the copy of the head

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<sup>12</sup> See p. 258 *seqq.*

of the Korê, as she appears on the parallel coinage of Evænetos, is strongly reinforced by a consideration of the reverse design of the same piece. Here we have to deal with a simpler and grander form of the quadriga, which typologically at least, is certainly anterior to that associated with Evænetos' handiwork. The action of the horses in this case is altogether free from that sensational element which characterizes the signed dekadrachms of Evænetos, and which, during the years that preceded Dionysios' dictatorship, was rapidly gaining momentum on the Sicilian dies. It is strange indeed that the same artist who, in his head of Persephonê, may be said to trespass on the domain of painting, should on the other side of the same piece have executed what is unquestionably the most sculpturesque and monumental of all the Syracusan coin-types. Yet, as already shown, there are certain points of sympathy between the obverse and reverse designs, such as notably the free treatment of the horses' manes, which tend to show that, as in the case of all known dekadrachms, both sides of the coin are by the same hand. The abandonment of the regular close-cropped type of mane, such as is seen in the Pheidias school of sculpture, in favour of a naturalistic rendering, is so far as it goes an advanced characteristic and an anticipation of one of the finest features of the horses on the Fourth-Century Tarentine Coinage; a similar tendency is, however, already seen on the noble dekadrachms of Akragas, struck before 406 B.C. The fuller and less attenuated forms of the horses recall those of the Akragantine engraver **MYP**,<sup>13</sup> who seems to have

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<sup>13</sup> *B. M. Cat., Agrigentum*, 53, 54. There is an excellent reproduction of this type in Weil, *Die Künstlerinschriften der sicilischen Münzen*, Taf. i. 13.

flourished during the years that immediately preceded 406 B.C., the date of the destruction of that city. As compared with the other dekadrachm types of Syracuse, their proportions are more in keeping with the canon of Kimôn, whose earliest "medallions," as I hope to show in the succeeding section, are somewhat anterior in date to those of Evænetos. On the other hand, there exist some early reverse types of dekadrachms by the latter artist <sup>14</sup> in which the action of the horses is less agitated than in his usual scheme, and which, perhaps, supply the nearest attainable comparison to the quadriga on the present coin, though the disposition of the horses' legs on Evænetos' designs suffers from the usual defects, and both the bearing and proportions of the steeds on the Santa Maria type are very distinctly nobler. The influence of the New Artist on Evænetos seems to be distinctly traceable in these pieces.

The more intimate relations in which, upon the newly discovered *pentékontalitron*, the steps and panoply below stand to the quadriga above, afford a further and most important argument for the anteriority of the present type. On the "medallions" alike of Kimôn and Evænetos, the exergual arrangements appear as mere subsidiary details. The pictorial schemes of the chariot and horses above have no need for an architectural base on which to support them. But the presentation of the quadriga by the New Artist is, as we have seen, of a very different character. It is wholly monumental, and at once suggests the fact that the artist had in his mind's eye some individual *anathéma*, either in bronze or marble. The steps corroborate this view, and may be taken actually to repre-

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<sup>14</sup> Cf. especially Pl. V., fig. 10.

sent the graduated base of a monument in every way appropriate to a hippodrome, and upon which the arms that served as prizes in the contest were actually placed.

When too on the dekadrachms by the other artists we find the steps and armour below dwindling down to mere ornamental appendages, and the horses above showing action of a kind suggesting rather the freedom of a painter's brush, we have good grounds for supposing that the scheme on our present "medallion," in which the plastic character of the chariot group and the graduated base below mutually explain one another, is the earlier design.

The fuller and more realistic presentation of the armour, as well as the prominence of the inscription that indicates its destination as the prize of victory, taken by themselves supply some grounds for seeing in this part of the design as it appears in the New "Medallion" the original of the exergual arrangement that was adopted in a modified and more decorative form by Kimôn, and after him by Evænetos, upon their dekadrachm dies.

The technical peculiarities of the present piece which mark it off, not less distinctly than its originality of style and design, from all other coins of this class, point on the whole to the same conclusion. The relief, both on the obverse and reverse, is somewhat lower than that on Evænetos' "medallions," and shows a nearer approach to that of Kimôn's earlier work. Its quadriga especially reveals a more shallow intaglio of the die, recalling the finest Fifth-Century style of gem-engraving. The mechanical skill with which this coin has been struck is truly remarkable. A slight reduplication of lines may indeed be detected round the outermost rim of the obverse, but I know of no dekadrachm that can compare with this, either in the roundness of the circumference, or in the

precision with which the impression of the die on either side has been centred on the metal, so that not only is the whole design, both on the obverse and reverse, contained within the field, but in neither case is there a lopsided margin. The module of the coin is abnormally large, being 1·51 inch (3·84 mill.) or ·06 inch broader than the largest "medallion" of Evænetos in the British Museum. In its exceptional module the present coin unquestionably ranges better with the dekadrachms from the hand of Kimôn, amongst which the average expanse is decidedly greater than on those by Evænetos. Amongst the specimens in the British Museum, there are two of Kimôn's work, the modules of which reach respectively 1·55 and 1·6 inch, and a third "medallion" of the same artist (with the lower relief) in the collection of the University of Aberdeen measures 1·55. And inasmuch as Kimôn's first dekadrachm issues belong to a slightly earlier date than those of Evænetos,<sup>15</sup> the abnormally large module of the piece by the New Artist must also tell in favour of its comparatively early date. The Akragantine dekadrachms, which are also relatively early, range between 1·46 inch (3·7 mill.) and 1·62 inch (4·1 mill.).<sup>16</sup>

Were there any trace of a progressive diminution in the weight of Syracusan silver money during this period, the decidedly light weight of this exceptional dekadrachm which weighs 645½ grains, as against an average of over 665 grains, might be taken as distinct evidence of posteriority of issue. But there is no trace of such a progressive diminution, and on the other hand a considerable varia-

<sup>15</sup> See Parts IV. and V.

<sup>16</sup> Salinas, *Le Monete delle antiche Città di Sicilia*, p. 21.

tion in weight is perceptible in known examples of Evænetos' dekadrachms, one in the British Museum descending as low in the scale as 650 grains. Undoubtedly for a coin which, with the exception of the loss of a few small flakes of silver in the upper field of the reverse, is brilliantly preserved, and of extraordinary large module, a discrepancy of some 20 grains is a noteworthy phenomenon. In the case, however, of a dekadrachm by Kimôn in the British Museum, the authenticity of which there seems no good reason for doubting, and which is by no means in bad condition, the weight falls as low as 625.3 grains.<sup>17</sup>

The general conclusion, then, to which these various lines of induction seem to point is that the newly discovered "medallion" is slightly earlier in date than any known dekadrachm from the hand of Evænetos. In that case the unknown artist with whom we have to deal was in all probability the original creator of the beautiful type of the young Goddess crowned with the green barley-wreath of Spring, which, in a slightly modified form, was reproduced and popularized on the prolific issues of Evænetos.

It is possible, indeed—and this perhaps is the preferable view—that the reverse type as seen on the new "medallion," which seems to betray a less developed style than the obverse head, was originally coupled with a still earlier version of the head of Korê than that with which it is actually associated. The fact that the present coin is altogether unique, and the possibility, therefore, that it was struck for some special purpose connected with the

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<sup>17</sup> *B. M. Cat., Syracuse*, No. 208. It has the same flaw in the die as another piece of full weight.

prize of an agonistic contest, make it reasonable to suppose that a still earlier, but hitherto undiscovered, version of the obverse type may yet lie behind it. In this case, the head of Persephonê that it exhibits would represent a parallel development of an original model, used also by Evænetos, rather than the original model itself. The perspective rendering of the spiral curls on the new "medallion" is seen on Kimôn's early dies in a more incipient stage, and is conspicuous by its absence on his facing head of Arethusa. On the "medallions" of Evænetos, on the other hand, this artistic feature is seen in much the same stage of development, though the curls of his Korê are still more closely coiled; and this fact may be taken to supply an argument for bringing down the execution of the obverse design of the New Artist approximately to the same date as the early "medallions" of Evænetos. In any case, however, the early characteristics observable both on the obverse and reverse of our coin make it difficult to suppose that it is merely a later copy based on Evænetos' design.

The discovery of the present "medallion" is in other respects of high interest in the history of the glyptic art as affording us a new stand-point of comparison for the well-known masterpiece from the hand of Evænetos. The relation in which the coin before us stands to it has already been generally indicated. In many respects the contrast only serves to bring into clearer relief the peculiar charms of each. The New Engraver excels in minute elaboration of details, but his presentment of the Maiden Goddess, though richer in accessories, is severer in profile and nobler in expression. The portrait by Evænetos, on the other hand, is a work of greater artistic concentration. The details are better subordinated to



the general effect. Quite secondary attention is here paid to the background. The cutting-off of the superfluous tresses brings out the fine outline of the head itself and throws the whole into greater relief, while the slighter rendering of the surrounding dolphins also serves to give greater prominence to the central design. Their curves are balanced against the outlines of the face and neck with calculated skill, the bowed outline of the lowermost dolphin, for example, no longer following, and almost repeating the line of the neck-section immediately above, but standing here in accentuated contrast to its more gentle sweep, while the flowing inner bend formed by the upper of the two fish in front of Korê's face intensifies, by the law of opposition, the soft incurving of the line that unites her nose and forehead, and which breaks the classical severity of profile.

The eye in Evænetos' portrait is, as we have seen, in better perspective. The modelling of the ear and cheek is executed with greater ease and truth to nature, and about the corners of the lips there lurks a very human dimple. It is a girlish face, rather Greuze-like in its expression, and of surpassing loveliness, that we have before us from Evænetos' dies, but something of the diviner element that permeates the earlier impersonation seems here to have faded from our view.

If we turn to the reverse of the newly discovered dekadrachm, while we admire the simplicity and grandeur of the quadriga group, with its rhythmic and harmonious movement, we cannot fail to notice, at the same time, a certain naïveness and uniformity in the arrangement. In spite of the admirable modulation of movement the drawing is somewhat too regular. The goad and outstretched arm, the reins, the axle-tree, and steps below, all form a series

of parallel lines, and the horses—all equally controlled and equidistant—in the bearing of their heads and necks and the arrangement of their legs, repeat the same action. The quadriga types of Evænetos, on the other hand, especially as seen in the maturity of their development on such a piece as that represented on Plate V., Fig. 12, betray throughout a hand that has spent a long apprenticeship in the art of design. The composition itself, which suggests, without actually showing, the moment of rounding the goal, is of unrivalled ingenuity. The action of the horses is higher and incomparably more varied. The raised goad, the more radiating reins and their adroitly devised arrangement, the rearing horses, the disposal of the legs into two distinct groups, are all so many evidences of freehanded striving after a magnificent and elaborately calculated artistic effect. If the other design runs on monumental lines, that of Evænetos might translate itself into a painter's masterpiece. It is only when we analyse the scheme more carefully that we see that the arrangement, striking and effective as it seems, has yet its defects; that the two hind-legs of the second horse placed on the ground imply a body disproportionately long, that the hind-legs of the foremost horse would make (as in the other instance) a body disproportionately short, and that the complex crossing of the legs themselves, that adds variety and sensation to the design, is fatal to the harmony and dignity that shine in the older composition.

The arrangement of the panoply and inscription below on Evænetos' coin certainly lacks nothing in regard to symmetry, and the transference of the inscription ΑΘΛΑ in minute letters to the lowest exergual space is, from this point of view, a neat device. But this nicely balanced

grouping of the arms with their triple ascending scale is, after all, a paltry set-off against the massive simplicity of the older design. How poor are the shield and helmet, the greaves and cuirass, by comparison ! How shrunken from their heroic mould ! The perfect equipoise achieved, itself contributes to reduce them almost to an ornamental appendage of the quadriga above, and like the legend that describes them, their meaning as the prize of a great agonistic contest stands out no longer bold and clear as on the earlier piece. As a matter of fact on over ninety per cent. of these later "medallions" as actually struck, the ΑΘΛΑ below is entirely lost.

In examining the handiwork of Evænetos we cannot fail to recognise at every turn the characteristics of a more advanced art, and yet with all the trained artistic skill and brilliant power of composition displayed by this engraver, with all the beauty of his portraiture, it must still be acknowledged that in delicacy of touch and majesty of design he stands behind the earlier Master whose splendid work has been now revealed to us. The coin itself, with its infinite refinement of execution, with its alternating moods of picturesque luxuriance and sculpturesque majesty, is a *tour de force* which may, perhaps, be compared with some of the medallie master-pieces of the Italian Renaissance executed by artists whose main lines ran along the higher paths of painting, sculpture, and architecture.

#### PART IV.

### THE DEKADRACHMS OF KIMÔN, AND HIS PLACE ON THE SYRACUSAN DIES.

REASONS have been given in the preceding section for regarding the newly-discovered "medallion" from the Santa Maria hoard as of somewhat earlier fabric than any known dekadrachm of Evænetos. The severe and simple style of the reverse has even inclined us to go a step farther, and to regard its most characteristic feature, the prize arms ranged on the steps below the chariot, as representing the original type from which both Kimôn and Evænetos drew for their less striking and more conventionalized representation of the same subject.

The fact that the coin of the New Artist exhibits the reverse design in this naïve and independent form at least tends to show that the die was engraved, broadly speaking, in the earliest period of the revived *pentékontalitra* and before the otherwise universal arrangement of the exergual arms had, as it were, become stereotyped.

Judging, however, by its obverse side, which apparently represents a later element on the new coin, a certain priority must be accorded to Kimôn's earlier Syracusan work, described above as Types I. and II. The epigraphy on the new "Medallion" no longer shows the transitional **N**

that characterizes Kimôn's two earlier types, and on the other hand the formation of the eye, the arrangement of the lowermost dolphin and the style of relief show a greater sympathy with Kimôn's Third Type. On the whole then we may regard the head of Korê by the New Artist as contemporary with this.

It must at the same time be observed that there are certain features in the design of the unique piece from the Santa Maria hoard, which throw a new light on this remarkable class of coins, and bring us a step nearer to determining their original meaning and occasion. It will be well, however, before entering on the more historic part of our inquiry to consider the materials for the chronology of the early dekadrachm issues of Syracuse supplied by the dies of the other artists. The materials for this study are to be found both in the contents of some recent Sicilian finds, and in a comparative examination of certain kindred types, both of Syracuse itself and of other cities, the importance of which in this connexion seems hitherto to have escaped notice, but which hold out a welcome clue to the date of these "medallions." And the inquiry thus embarked on may lead us, so far as Kimôn is concerned, to some new conclusions as to the position occupied by this artist among Sicilian engravers.

I am well aware that in ascribing a certain anteriority to Kimôn's dekadrachms as compared with those of Evænetos, I am advancing a proposition directly at variance with the opinion of one of the most careful and competent critics who have treated of the subject. Dr. Weil in his work on the artists' signatures on Sicilian coins, after dividing the dekadrachms with the head of Korê into an earlier class signed **EYAINÉ**, and a later unsigned, continues, "The third, and obviously the latest,

class is that proceeding from Kimôn and exhibiting the female head with the hair-net."<sup>1</sup> But Dr. Weil does not seem to have realised the existence of Kimôn's earlier and rarer type, a phototype of which is given on Plate I., fig. 5.<sup>2</sup> The lower relief of the head of Arethusa on this coin, the incomparably finer engraving, and the truly exquisite elaboration of detail, stamp this at once as distinctly the earliest of Kimôn's dekadrachms. It is evident, indeed, that some few years must have elapsed between this and his latest issue with the head of the same Nymph in bold relief—the proudest, and so far as its expression goes, the "modernest" of all Greek coin-types. Nor will any one with the earlier type in view seriously contest Kimôn's claim to priority over his rival Evænetos in the engraving of dekadrachm dies.

These earliest "medallions" with Kimôn's signature are of considerable rarity, though the Santa Maria hoard has

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<sup>1</sup> Dr. Weil expresses himself (*Die Künstlerinschriften*, &c., p. 27) as follows: "Die Dekadrachmen scheiden sich in drei Gruppen, welche, soweit ich beobachten konnte, durch keinerlei Stempelvertauschungen unter einander in Beziehung stehen: die älteste ist die des Euainetos mit dem **EYAINÉ** unter dem Kopf des Kora; ihr in der Technik völlig entsprechend ist die statt des Künstlernamens mit wechselnden Bezeichnungen ausgestattete; die dritte und offenbar jüngste ist die von Kimon herrührende, der Frauenkopf mit dem Haarnetz." To these may now be added, besides the other and far rarer type of Arethusa by Kimôn, the Korê head, by the New Artist, revealed to us by the Santa Maria hoard. Von Sallet, *Die Künstlerinschriften auf griechischen Münzen*, p. 29, is more cautious in expressing his opinion as to a possible difference in date between the two artists. He observes: "Ueber einen etwaigen, jedenfalls sehr geringen Zeitunterschied zwischen Kimon und Euänetos lässt sich nichts bestimmtes sagen."

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Castelli, *Sic. Vet. Num.*, Tav. lxxii. 2; Duc de Luynes, *Monumenti Inediti* (1830), Pl. XIX. 3, and *Annali dell' Inst.*, &c. (1830), pp. 77, 78; B. Head, *Coins of Syracuse*, Pl. IV. 6; *B. M. Cat., Sicily*, No. 200.

added two to our store of known specimens. The reverse, which is from the same die as that used in some of the later issues, shows the signature **KIMΩN** on the exergual line, but whereas on the obverse of the later types the full inscription of the name is repeated on the lowermost dolphin, it is here confined to the three letters **KI M** inscribed on the *ampyx* of the *sphendonê*. The earlier **Ν** appears in the civic inscription.

If we examine the beautiful head of Arethusa on this coin, it becomes evident that it is itself a luxuriant and more elaborate adaptation of the head of the same Nymph as she appears on an early tetradrachm of Evænetos (Pl. I. fig. 3), while the quadriga type with which it is accompanied will also be found to stand in a very intimate relation to the reverse of the same piece by the rival master.

The tetradrachm in question is that finely executed coin<sup>3</sup> on which the first four letters of Evænetos' name appear on the belly of the dolphin that swims in front of the Nymph's mouth, while on the reverse the full signature is repeated in the earlier genitival form **EYAINETO** for **EYAINETOY** on a small tablet held aloft by Victory. Extraordinary as is this coin, regarded as an independent work of art, it is yet in many of its essential features itself simply an adaptation by the more skilful hand of the pupil from an existing model by the older master, Eumenês (Pl. I. fig. 1). At times, indeed, this older version of the head of Arethusa—if Arethusa it be—with the same star-spangled sphendonê knotted at top in a similar manner, and the same arrangement of locks flowing back from the temple, appears with Eumenês' name below in actual association with the reverse of Evænetos (exhibiting his

<sup>3</sup> *B. M. Cat. Sicily*, p. 172, No. 188, *v. infra*, p. 289 *seqq.*

years 416—413 B.C. The result, as will be seen, throws back the prototype by Evænetos some years before this date. Nor, allowing for the visible development in style in the case of the Segestan coin, will it be safe to place the date of issue of Evænetos' early tetradrachm many years later than 425 B.C.

On the other hand, the great approximation in style between the head of Segesta on the piece referred to, and the Arethusa of Kimôn's early dekadrachm, affords in this case, too, a valuable indication of date.

Both coins stand in much the same artistic relation to the same prototype. In some respects, indeed, Kimôn in his head of Arethusa shows a greater independence of his model. The chin is fuller and rounder, and the nose and forehead form more of a Grecian line; in the character of the eye and the general arrangement of the hair and *sphen-doné* we find the same agreement, though on the larger coin the curls are more developed, and here, in place of the star-spangled bag, the back tresses, as on an earlier Syracusan type (Pl. I., fig. 2), are confined in a beaded net which supplies a greater richness and variety to the design. In both cases the band that passes round the upper part of the head is fastened by a small knot of the same form, the loose ends of which curve above the head, Kimôn in his arrangement of these streamers following rather the prototype of Eumenês than Evænetos' adaptation of it. On the whole, however, he has unquestionably developed the model as refined by the latter artist, and in the elaboration of detail and the almost microscopic minuteness of execution that Kimôn here displays there is much in harmony with Evænetos' early manner as exhibited in his head of Arethusa. One point, which is not without its chronological importance, remains to be noticed. On



Kimôn's early medallion, as on the Segestan tetradrachm, there is substituted, in place of the coiled earrings that at Syracuse mark Transitional fashion, a new and more tasteful floral drop. As an additional token of contemporaneity and kinship this ornamental feature has a distinct value, inasmuch as amongst all the coins of the Sicilian cities this floral type of earring appears alone on these two pieces.

If we turn to the reverse of Kimôn's dekadrachm, there will also be observed a certain correspondence with that of Evænetos' early tetradrachm in the distribution of the foreparts of the horses. Here, as there, the three nearest horses are placed more or less abreast, while the further steed plunges forward. It is true, however, that—in deference, as has been suggested, to a severer model—the more sensational element of the design as represented by the broken rein and entangled fore-leg has been eliminated in Kimôn's scheme. On the other hand, the signature presents another point of contact between the two engravers. The practice adopted here by Kimôn of inscribing his name on the exergual line of the reverse is, in fact, adopted from another early tetradrachm reverse of Evænetos with an almost identical scheme of horses, in which his name, once more in the genitival form **EYAINETO**, is stowed away in the same manner. This reverse of Evænetos accompanies a head by his fellow-engraver Eukleidas which represents a copy contemporary with his own of the original portrait of Arethusa by their common master Eumenês.

Two Syracusan tetradrachms (figs. 6 and 7 of Pl. I.) may be referred to as illustrating much the same stage of artistic evolution as Kimôn's early dekadrachm. The first of these, with the head of the bearded Satyr beneath the Nymph's neck, shows the same indebtedness to

Evænetos' early model, the exceptional form of her earring, on the other hand, being equally characteristic of the varied fashions in this matter displayed in Kimôn's day. The other coin, with the signature ΓΑΡΜΕ, while it also, in some respects, shows traces of the same prototype, bears in a higher degree the impress of Kimon's first "medallion" type, and has one motive directly borrowed from it, namely, the dolphin that seems to issue from Arethusa's neck. Both these tetradrachms show a somewhat early chariot-scheme, in which the archaic dualism is well marked, and though somewhat later in style, neither can be many years later in date than Kimôn's first "medallion" type. His gold hundred-litra pieces (Pl. II., 3, 4, 9), with a head of Arethusa in the starry *sphendoné*, belong to the same group; and the facial type presented by the earliest of these (Pl. II, figs. 3, 4) so strongly recalls the features of Kimôn's second "medallion" issue (Type II.) that it must unquestionably be referred to the same date.<sup>6</sup>

From what has been already said, it will be seen that the earliest of Kimôn's "medallion" types fits on to the fine tetradrachm of Evænetos' "first manner," the head of which had already, between the approximate dates of 416 and 413 B.C., served as the model for the beautiful portrait of Segesta on the rare tetradrachms of that city, while the tablet-holding Nikê of the reverse had already, by 409 B.C., been associated on a Himeræan coin with a quadriga scheme of a distinctly more advanced character. And the parallelism in which Kimôn's work stands to the Segestan coin referred to, is of such a kind as to warrant us in supposing that this early "medallion" dates from the same period as the other coin, and must be referred to the years immediately succeeding 415 B.C.

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<sup>6</sup> See p. 297.

This conclusion, which carries back the prototype by Evænetos, and the contemporary types by Eukleidas and Eumenês, with which it stands in such close association, to a period which may be roughly stated as 425—415, has some important bearings on the chronology of Syracusan letter forms. On these early tetradrachms of Evænetos, the  $\Omega$  appears already in the civic name, and the same is the case with the obverse types of the older engraver, Eumenês, which not infrequently accompany Evænetos' reverses. Nor need this conclusion, which throws back the first introduction of the  $\Omega$  on the coin types of Syracuse to a considerably earlier date than has been generally supposed, in any way surprise us. There is no reason why Syracuse should have been behind any Italian city in such matters, and we know that at Thurii the  $\Omega$  already appears on the earliest tetradrachms struck, in all probability, about 440 B.C. The  $\Omega$  is in fact already used in his signatures by the Syracusan engraver Sôsiôn, on coins which go back approximately to the same date. There is then no *a priori* reason for supposing that the presence of the  $\Omega$  on the group of coins with which we are immediately concerned, argues a later date than that to which their issue has been referred on other grounds. The earlier usage still lingered, indeed, at Syracuse itself, and some engravers lagged behind others in the introduction of the new letters. At times, too, they made use of them with an opposite force to that finally received. Eumenês himself, whose signature on his latest pieces **EYMENOIY** shows the true form of his name, on slightly earlier coins, signs **EYMHNOY**—using **H** for **E**.<sup>7</sup> Phrygillos in the

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<sup>7</sup> On his more archaic coins with the civic inscription  $\epsilon$ YPAKO  $\epsilon$ ION, this artist invariably signs **EYMHNOY**,

like fashion on one occasion writes the civic name  $\Xi\text{Υ}\text{Ρ}\text{Α}\text{Κ}\text{Ω}\mathfrak{E}\text{Ι}\text{Ο}\text{Ν}$ —using  $\Omega$  for  $\text{O}$  and *vice versâ*. So, too, on a red-figured vase we find  $\text{HPME}[\text{S}]$  for  $\text{EPMH}\mathfrak{E}$  and  $\Delta\text{Ι}\text{Ω}\text{Ν}\text{V}\mathfrak{S}\mathfrak{S}$  for  $\Delta\text{Ι}\text{O}\text{N}\text{Y}\mathfrak{E}\text{O}\mathfrak{E}$ .<sup>8</sup> Eukleidas is more cautious about the new usage, and resorts to the adjectival form  $\mathfrak{E}\text{Υ}\text{Ρ}\text{Α}\text{Κ}\text{O}\mathfrak{E}\text{Ι}\text{O}\mathfrak{E}$ . It seems to me that this latter usage, which becomes so general just at this period of epigraphic transition, was really a device for avoiding any decision as to the force of the new letter-forms.

One of the most valuable standpoints for fixing the date of the Syracusan coin-types of this period is supplied by the reverse design signed  $\text{EY}\text{O}$  (Pl. I. fig. 1), representing a quadriga with horses in free but very even action, with their fore-parts more turned towards the spectator than is usual on this series, and driven by a winged youth. The exergual device, a figure of Skylla chasing a small fish with outstretched hand, is singularly sportive and graceful, but the early date of the type seems to be established by its exclusive association with the somewhat rude heads of Korê and Arethusa, by Eumenês, and with a head of the Maiden Goddess, by Phrygillos, after Eumenês' prototype, which must certainly be regarded as the earliest work of that engraver. It will be further observed that this design presents an extraordinary parallelism with a similar quadriga, also driven by a winged figure—in this case of Nikê—that accompanies one of the latest tetradrachm

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or  $\text{EYMH}$   
 $\text{YON}$ . On his later types associated with reverses by  $\text{Ev}\alpha\eta\eta\epsilon\tau\text{os}$  or  $\text{Euth} \dots$ , and with the inscription  $\mathfrak{E}\text{Υ}\text{Ρ}\text{Α}\text{Κ}\text{O}\mathfrak{E}\text{Ι}\text{Ω}\text{Ν}$ , the signature is always  $\text{EYME}[\text{N}]\text{OY}$ . This shows that the true form of the name was *Eumenês* ( $\text{Εὐμῆνης}$ ), and not *Euménos* ( $\text{Εὐμῆνος}$ ).

<sup>8</sup> Panofka, *Antiques du Musée Pourtalès-Gorgier*, Pl. XXVII.

types of Selinûs. It is at once obvious that both the Syracusan and Selinuntine types in question, must be referred approximately to the same date. But Selinûs, as we know, was destroyed in 409 B.C., and although this quadriga is the most advanced type found on the tetradrachms of that city, there exist certain Selinuntine hêmîdrachms, on which the horses are seen in still higher action, and in one case at least, the épigraphy assumes a slightly later form. It is, therefore, probable, that the dies of the tetradrachms referred to, though the latest of Selinûs, were engraved some few years, at least, before 409 B.C. On the other hand, from the early associations, in which their Syracusan counterparts signed **EYΘ**. . . are found, it is difficult to bring down the first issue of these latter later than about 420 B.C. Whether Syracuse or Selinûs can lay a prior claim to the introduction of this scheme is another question. To myself the Syracusan version seems distinctly earlier.

Dr. Weil, indeed, from the isolated character of this design on the Syracusan coinage, was inclined to regard it as due to the presence at Syracuse of some Selinuntine or Akragantine<sup>9</sup> engraver, who had escaped from the destruction of his native city in 409 or 406 B.C. But the evidence that this design is earlier than 409 B.C. must be taken to diminish the plausibility of this suggestion. As a matter of fact, the scheme is as isolated at Selinûs as it is at Syracuse. And on the other hand, some newly-discovered Siculo-Punic types, to which attention will be presently

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<sup>9</sup> Dr. Weil, *loc. cit.* p. 9, sees Akragantine features in the Skylla, which also occurs on a tetradrachm of that city (*B. M. Cat.* p. 12, No. 61; Salinas, *Le Monete*, &c., Tav. 8, f. 3, 4) and the fish, which is similar to one seen with the crab on other Akragantine tetradrachms (*B. M. Cat.* No. 59; Salinas, Tav. 8, f. 2); and further, in the arrangement of the chariot.

called, show that the Punic cities of Western Sicily copied the Syracusan and not the Selinuntine version of this reverse. That the design deviates from the usual Sicilian tradition is obvious. But it seems to me that another and more satisfactory explanation of its origin may be found. It stands, in fact, in a very close relation to a well-marked group of quadriga types that appear on some contemporary coins of Kyrênê. The even arrangement of the horses, the facing tendency of both horses and chariot, and the winged charioteers<sup>10</sup>—the three most characteristic points, both on the Syracusan and Selinuntine pieces—are all found on a fine series of Kyrênæan gold *staters* which, from the early character of their style and epigraphy, must have been struck about the same period as our Sicilian pieces, and which in fact mark the flourishing epoch of the civic history that ensued on the fall of the Battiadæ and the establishment of a Republican form of government at Kyrênê in 431 B.C.<sup>11</sup> But, whereas on the Sicilian dies the recurrence of such schemes is altogether isolated, in Kyrênê they are obviously at home, and we may even trace the genesis of one of the most important features of the design, the wings, namely, of the charioteer, which seem to have been suggested by the somewhat awkwardly flowing mantle of the driver on a slightly earlier *stater*.

It is possible that during the years that immediately preceded the Athenian siege, some Kyrênæan engraver was attracted by the opulence of Syracuse to settle in that

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<sup>10</sup> The winged charioteer also appears on the coins of Akragas (where the same Kyrênæan influence may also be detected), and of Gela.

<sup>11</sup> Head, *Hist. Num.*, p. 729.

city; but on the whole it seems more probable that the introduction of these types, both at Syracuse and Selinûs, was due to an active commercial intercourse between



Fig. 3.—Quadriga-Types on Kyrênæan Gold Staters.

Kyrênê and the ports of Southern Sicily and to the direct influence of the brilliant gold coinage lately introduced in the great Doric plantation of the Libyan coast.<sup>12</sup> The appearance of the two parallel designs about the same time at Syracuse and Selinûs may in this case simply indicate that engravers of both cities borrowed independently from a common source.

These Syracusan tetradrachms signed **EYO**, presenting this Kyrênæan scheme of the quadriga, seem to have been


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<sup>12</sup> The reciprocal influence of the Sicilian currency on that of Kyrênê may, perhaps, be traced in the appearance at this time of Kyrênæan gold pieces of  $13\frac{1}{2}$  grains (cf. Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 729), answering to the weight of the silver litra. Gold litræ of the same weight were issued at Gela—one in my possession being  $18\frac{1}{2}$  grains in weight—and the corresponding gold dilitron, weighing c. 27 grains, of the same city, are better known. Taking the proportional value of gold and silver as 15 to 1, these coins must have severally represented three and six drachms *Æ*. They thus range with the small Sicilian gold pieces of 9 and 18 grains (cf. Head, *Coins of Syracuse*, p. 17), which represent gold obols and diobols, and are the equivalent in silver of didrachms and tetradrachms respectively; so that, by a combination of the litra and obol systems, we have a series of small gold pieces, the silver value of which is two, three, four, and six drachms.

specially selected for imitation by the Siculo-Punic die-sinkers during the period of preparation which immediately preceded the great Carthaginian invasion of 409 B.C. That invasion, as was to be expected, left a deep impress on the coinage of the Phœnician cities of Sicily, which is traceable in several ways. During the late Transitional Period of numismatic art, the continuous process of Hellenization that was at work in the Phœnician and Elymian communities of the Western part of the Island, had left its mark on the epigraphy of their coinage, insomuch that it is not only at Segesta and Eryx that we find Greek inscriptions, but at Panormos and even at Motya. But the great reinforcement of Carthaginian authority in this Sicilian region which followed on the invasion of 409, though it did not interfere with the Hellenic taste of the inhabitants so far as the artistic character of the coin-types was concerned, seems to have put an end for ever to the adoption of Hellenic legends. The brilliant series of coins struck shortly afterwards in the island by Carthage in her own name for the use of her mercenaries did not by any means extinguish the autonomous issues of the old Phœnician cities of Sicily, but they were a speaking witness to the new political situation. At Motya itself the coins now are either wholly uninscribed or present the Semitic form of the town name. The coins of the Panormitis are inscribed with the still mysterious inscription "*Ziz.*" But at the same time the vast treasure taken from the plundered Greek cities seems to have supplied fresh models to the Siculo-Punic mints, and, it may be, even fresh engravers from among the captive Greeks.


Some valuable and hitherto unattainable data for distinguishing these early Siculo-Punic types have been supplied by the discovery of a recent hoard of silver coins



in Western Sicily, the bulk of which are now in the Museum at Palermo.<sup>13</sup> This find is of special importance to our present inquiry as containing a series of Siculo-Punic coins with heads copied from Kimôn's "medallions" (Types I. and II.), associated in several instances with quadriga types based on the Syracusan design by the engraver Euth . . . whose signature is here replaced in the same position in the exergue by the Phœnician inscription  (Ziz), while the Skylla beside it is transformed into a sea-horse.

It is probable from the occurrence of the legend *Ziz* that these early silver types must be referred to the Panormitan mint.<sup>14</sup> Their attribution to this Phœnician city receives, moreover, an interesting corroboration from the fact that a copy of the same sea-horse on a smaller scale, and in an inferior style, was introduced into the exergue of the latest tetradrachms of the neighbouring Greek city of Himera by the engraver Mae . . . .<sup>15</sup> We thus obtain a valuable clue to the date of the earliest Siculo-Punic

<sup>13</sup> The coins have been described and illustrated by phototype plates, by Professor Salinas, in the *Notizie degli Scavi*, for 1888. (*Ripostiglio Siciliano di monete antiche di argento.*) In Appendix A. I have given some reasons for differing from Professor Salinas's chronological conclusions regarding this find.

<sup>14</sup> For the special connexion of the legend *Ziz* with Panormos, see De Saulcy, *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscr. et B.L.* xv. 2, p. 46 *seqq.*, and *Rev. Num.*, 1844, p. 44-46. Imhoof Blumer, *Monnaies Grecques*, p. 26, inclines to the same view: "Si elle n'a pas une signification plus générale, qui n'aurait pas même besoin d'être géographique, elle doit être le nom Phénicien de Panormos, comme De Saulcy l'a vu le premier." In the *B. M. Cat.* they are placed under Panormos. Any identification of  with the **IIB** on coins of Segesta and Eryx has probably been set at rest for ever by Kinch's study on the latter epigraphic form.—*Die Sprache der sicilischen Elymer* (*Zeitschr. f. Num.* xvi. (1888), p. 187 *seqq.*)

<sup>15</sup> *Num. Chron.*, 1890, Pl. XVIII. 2, p. 292 *seqq.*

coins of this group, which must, in this case, have been in existence by 409 B.C. when Himera was utterly destroyed. The official coins struck in Sicily in the name of Carthage, with which these autonomous Siculo-Punic pieces were associated in the find, are slightly later in style and, in all probability, date from the time of the second Carthaginian expedition of 406—405 B.C.<sup>16</sup>

It is probable that the presumably Panormitic pieces signed "*Ziz*" were struck from about 410 B.C. with a view to providing the expected Carthaginian ally with specie wherewith to pay his Campanian and other mercenaries. They thus supply a *terminus à quo* for the chronology of the obverse types which occur on them. These are of three kinds, all of which were represented in the West Sicilian find.

1. A female head, copied from an early head of Persephonê, by Eumenês. (*B. M. Cat., Sicily*, p. 247, Nos. 8, 9; Salinas, *Ripostiglio Siciliano*, &c., Tav. xviii. 36, 37.)
2. A head copied from that of Arethusa in the net on Kimôn's earliest "medallion" (Type I.). (Salinas, *Ripostiglio*, &c., Tav. xviii. 34.)  
Cf. Plate I., Figs. 8, 9.
3. A head copied from that of Arethusa in the net on Kimôn's later "medallion" in high relief (Type II. A). (Salinas, *Ripostiglio*, Tav. xviii. 35.)  
Plate II., Fig. 7.

The importance of this conclusion in its bearing on the date of Kimôn's dekadrachms can hardly be overrated. From the identity of the reverse with which these various heads are coupled, and the similarity of their technique, it is obvious that all three of these Siculo-Punic types were struck within a few years of one another. Yet some of them had already, by 409 B.C., influenced the


<sup>16</sup> See p. 301.

character of the latest Himeræan coinage. It follows that by that approximate date not only Kimôn's earliest "medallions," with the low relief, had been already in circulation, but his later and more advanced work, representing his earliest issue in high relief (Type II.), which is copied by No. 3. And it follows as a corollary to this that Kimôn's first dekadrachm issue, which is in a distinctly less advanced style than those in high relief, must have been struck some years at least before the issue of these Siculo-Punic types which belong to what may be called the great Carthaginian re-coinage of 410 and the immediately ensuing years.

The fact, moreover, that in two cases we find the imitation of Kimôn's work associated with copies of the reverse type by Euth . . . must in itself be considered a strong indication that Kimôn's early "medallions" go back, at least, to the borders of the period when Euth . . . engraved his dies. But the Kyrênæan design of this latter artist belongs, as already shown, to the period immediately preceding the Athenian siege, and we are thus induced by more than one line of reasoning to throw back Kimôn's first dekadrachm issue to a date somewhat nearer 415 than 410 B.C.

The West Sicilian hoard to which reference has already been made, and which, from the place where it was discovered, it may be convenient to give the name of the "Contessa Find," has supplied in addition to the above-mentioned Panormitic types one or two examples of Motyan tetradrachms also copied on their obverse sides from Kimôn's "medallion" types and struck no doubt on the same occasion as the coins signed *Ziz*. These are:—

1. *Obv.*—Female head to r., with hair in net, and with earring of a single drop, in high relief and fine style,

copied from the head of Arethusa in the net on Kimôn's later dekadrachms (Type II.). Insc. (Motua) .

Rev.—Crab.

(Salinas, *Ripostiglio*, &c., Tav. xviii. 17. One example found.) [Pl. II. fig. 5.]

2. *Obv.*—Female head to l., with hair in net and earring with bar and three pendants, copied from Kimôn's later dekadrachm, but in an inferior and obviously later style.

(Salinas, *Ripostiglio*, &c., Tav. xviii. 18. Three examples found.) [Pl. II. fig. 6.]

The evidence brought to light by this find of the influence exercised by Kimôn's works on the Motyan engravers fits on to the witness already supplied by some smaller silver and bronze pieces of this Phœnician city. A didrachm of Motya of which examples from two dies exist (Pl. III. figs. 11, 12),<sup>17</sup> presents the facing head of a Nymph surrounded by dolphins, obviously copied from the facing head of Arethusa, with Kimôn's signature, on the well-known Syracusan tetradrachm, and this didrachm in its turn was reproduced on a series of silver obols<sup>18</sup> (Pl. III. fig. 10) and small bronze pieces<sup>19</sup> (Pl. III., fig. 8)

<sup>17</sup> For Pl. III., fig. 12, see *B. M. Cat., Sicily*, p. 244, No. 8; Weil, *Künstlerinschriften*, &c., p. 29. Pl. III., fig. 11, is from the Paris Cabinet.

<sup>18</sup> *B. M. Cat., Sicily*, p. 244, No. 9.

<sup>19</sup> In the *B. M. Cat.* (p. 245) these small bronze pieces appear as "Motya?" I have, however, myself obtained several on the actual site of Motya, the small island of St. Pantaleo, between Trapani and Marsala; and as these small coins were for local circulation only, this evidence may be regarded as conclusive. On one of these small bronze coins the face and head of the Nymph seems to be coupled on the other side, not as usual with a youthful male head, but with a small copy of the profile head of Arethusa in the net (*B. M. Cat., Motya*, 20, described as a "young male head"). This head, in very high relief, is probably taken from one of the gold hundred-litra pieces engraved by Kimôn or Evænetos, the young male head which accompanies

issued by the Motyan mint during the last period of the civic existence.

The existence of a whole series of Motyan coins copied from prototypes by Kimôn in his more advanced style is itself a valuable chronological landmark, since Motya itself was utterly overthrown by Dionysios in 397 B.C. The discovery in the Contessa Hoard of two varieties of Motyan coins imitated from Kimôn's dekadrachm of high relief (Type II.), one of which is distinctly posterior in style to the other, further enables us to throw back the latest possible date of the first issue of Kimôn's later "medallions" some years, at least, before 400 B.C., beyond which year, as I have endeavoured to show in Appendix A, it is impossible to bring down the deposit of this West Sicilian find. In this find, besides the Panormitic and Motyan imitations, there was one somewhat used original example of Kimôn's later "medallion" (Type II.).<sup>20</sup>

A still more remarkable contribution to the chronology of Kimôn's medallions is supplied by his beautiful tetradrachm type representing the three-quarters facing Arethusa (Pl. III. figs. 4, 5), which amongst all the dies executed by this artist, must ever be regarded as his masterpiece. But the face represented so closely corresponds with the profile portrait on Kimôn's later dekadrachm with the high relief (Type III.), that it is impossible to suppose that more than a few years could have intervened between the engraving of their respective dies. And in the case of Kimôn's facing head of Arethusa

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other Motyan bronze types being in the same way derived from the head of the River God on the contemporary gold fifty-litra pieces of Syracuse. It thus appears that both these classes of Syracusan gold coins were current several years before the fall of Motya.

<sup>20</sup> Salinas, *Ripostiglio*, &c., Tav. xvii. 21.

we have more than one trustworthy guide to the date of its first issue.

The imitation of this noble type on a series of Motyan coins, is itself an indication that it had been in existence several years at least before 397 B.C., the date of the destruction of that Phœnician city by Dionysios. Its influence seems further traceable in the facing head of Kamarina on a drachm of that city (Pl. III., fig. 9), and another of the River-God Amenanos by Choiriôn at Katanê (Pl. III., fig. 6). But a still more important piece of evidence is supplied by the small bronze coin of Himera<sup>21</sup> of which a reproduction is given in fig. 4.



Fig. 4.—Copy of Kimôn's Arethusa on Bronze Coin of Himera.

There can be no doubt that the three-quarters facing head of the Nymph on this Himeræan *hémilitron* is directly and very literally copied from Kimôn's head of Arethusa. But Himera itself was utterly wiped out by the Carthaginians at the close of 409 B.C., and it is evident that, late as this type must be placed in the Himeræan series, the original design from which it was copied cannot therefore be brought down later than that year. We may even infer that this Himeræan copy was called forth under the immediate influences of the impression created by the first appearance of Kimôn's masterpiece, and ascribe the issue of the Syracusan original, with some confidence, to

<sup>21</sup> B. M. Cat. Himera, No. 55; rev. **IME**, crayfish l., above,  
 • • • • • = 6 οὔκλαι. It was therefore a *hémilitron*.

the year 409. Earlier than this it can hardly be; the quadriga schemes indeed on the two reverses with which it is coupled bear the closest resemblance to those which mark the latest tetradrachm issue of Gela struck during the years that immediately preceded its destruction in 405.<sup>22</sup> The ear of barley, moreover, on the exergue, which accompanies Kimôn's reverses, reappears in the same position as the Gelan coins.<sup>23</sup>

The date of Kimôn's beautiful tetradrachm with the facing head of Arethusa thus approximately established, affords, as already observed, a sure guide to the approximate chronology of Kimôn's later "medallions," with the head in profile of the same Nymph. In spite of the difference in the point of view from which the two faces are taken, their correspondence in expression and physiognomy is most striking, though the slightly more advanced style of the dekadrachm (Type III.) may incline us to bring down its date of issue a few years later.

The considerable difference in style between Kimôn's earlier type of Arethusa on his dekadrachm of lower relief and that of his later issues, does not necessarily imply any great discrepancy of date. As a matter of fact, both classes are accompanied by the same reverse type, nor had the dies of the reverse at all deteriorated at the time when Kimôn's later "medallions" were first struck. The difference in style is largely to be attributed to other causes. In the case of his original design for the head of Arethusa, Kimôn, as will be shown more fully in the course of this paper, himself of non-Syracusan extraction, was evidently bound down by the traditions of the Syra-

<sup>22</sup> *B. M. Cat.* Nos. 58, 59.

<sup>23</sup> Pertinent parallels from the same period of years may also be cited from Kamarina and other cities.

cusan mint, and contented himself with improving and elaborating with excessive richness of detail a pre-existing model. By the time that he executed his bolder designs of the tutelary Nymph, he may well have acquired a more assured position in his new home, and could give freer vent to the promptings of his own genius and to the independent art-traditions that he had brought with him.

What those traditions were and whence he brought them, is best shown by the evidence of his masterpiece, the facing head of Arethusa. Before, however, entering on this part of our subject, it may be well to consider this noble work in its relation to contemporary Sicilian attempts at a perspective rendering of the human face, and to glance at the influence of Kimôn's artistic triumph on the Hellenic world and its borderlands.

The fact that a perspective rendering of the three-quarters face should have appeared at Syracuse as early as 409 B.C., need not in itself surprise us. The comparison which Kimôn's masterpiece most naturally calls up is the three-quarters facing head of Pallas in the triple-crested helmet by the contemporary Syracusan artist Eukleidas. From the character of the reverse with which it is accompanied, and which bears a marked resemblance to those executed by Evarchidas, in honour, it has been suggested, of a naval victory gained over the Athenians,<sup>24</sup> there seem

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<sup>24</sup> See Salinas (*Ripostiglio Siciliano*, &c., p. 15—18 and Tav. xxiii. 25) and *Num. Chron.* (1890, p. 301 *seqq.*, and Pl. XVIII., 6, 7), where I have accepted Prof. Salinas's suggestion that the *aplustre* held by Nikê refers to a naval victory over the Athenians. From the somewhat early character of the obverse heads by Phrygillos, which seem to date from the period before the Athenian siege, it is preferable, however, to suppose that the trophy refers to the earlier victory of the winter of 414-413, rather than that of September, 413.



to me to be good reasons for referring this famous design to a date at least as early as Kimôn's head of Arethusa, indeed an example of Eukleidas' tetradrachm occurred in the famous Naxos hoard buried about 410 B.C.<sup>25</sup> It is, however, to be observed that though in this case the artist was greatly aided by the helmet in overcoming the difficulties of a facing portraiture, his design fails to convey that sense of freedom and of mastery over technical difficulties that looks forth from Kimôn's Arethusa. The same is true of the facing head of the young River-God



Fig. 5.—Triobol of Selinûs.

Hipparis, by Evænetos, on a didrachm of Kamarina that also belongs to this period.<sup>26</sup>

Dr. Weil has already called attention to the fact that the three-quarters head of Hêraklês which appears on a hêmidrachm of Selinûs must have been engraved before the date of the overthrow of that city, and I am now able to reproduce in Fig. 5 another Selinuntine silver piece of the same denomination,<sup>27</sup> in which the head of

<sup>25</sup> See Appendix B. For Eukleidas' tetradrachm see *B. M. Cat.*, 198, 199; Weil, *Künstlerinschriften*, Taf. iii. 7.

<sup>26</sup> *B. M. Cat.* No. 16; Weil, *Künstlerinschriften*, &c., Taf. ii. 6. That this is by no means one of the latest types of Kamarina is shown by the fact that the reverse design of the nymph riding over the waves of her lake, which is also evidently from Evænetos's hand, was copied on more than one die by the local (and inferior) engraver, Exakestidas.

<sup>27</sup> The weight of this coin is 28 grs.: it is therefore a triobol. A caricature apparently intended to represent this coin was published by Castelli (Tav. lxvi. 2), but since his time the type has been lost sight of.

the youthful God appears almost full-facing, and with the mane of the lion's scalp, with which he is coifed, waving behind him in every direction, in a manner suggestive of Arethusa's tresses on Kimôn's die. Yet this coin also must have been issued by 409 B.C.

The fact that these other Sicilian examples are not so advanced in their treatment of perspective as the masterpiece of the Syracusan engraver, does not then prove any real discrepancy of date. That Kimôn, in his facing head of Arethusa, had achieved something that went beyond anything that had been hitherto accomplished in this branch of engraving, is shown by the great impression it made on his contemporaries, and that not only in Sicily itself, at Himera, or at Phœnician but Hellenized Motya, but in the Mother-Country of Greece and even in the Asiatic borderlands of Greek and Oriental. And the early date of the imitations of Kimôn's design thus called into being is specially noteworthy. Already, by the end of the Fifth and the first years of the Fourth Century B.C. it had been taken as the model for the beautiful series of Nymphs' heads, which from this time forth for the better part of a century adorn the coinage of the Thessalian Larissa<sup>28</sup> (Pl. III. 13—15), and soon after 400 B.C. it had been adopted as the obverse design for their Staters by the Satraps of the Æolid and Cilicia (Pl. III. fig. 16).<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> *B. M. Cat. Thessaly, &c.*, Pl. V. 14, VI. 1—12. I quite agree with Weil's verdict, *op. cit.* p. 81, that the earliest Larissan designs of this head are copied from Kimôn's "Mit allem Detail in der Behandlung der Locken." Gardner, *Types of Greek Coins*, p. 154, does not go beyond the resemblance. From Larissa the type seems to have spread to Gomphi (*B. M. Cat.*, Pl. III. 2—4).

<sup>29</sup> Duc de Luynes, *Numismatique des Satrapies* (1846, p. 6), and cf. J. P. Six, *Le Satrape Mazaios* (*Num. Chron.* 1884, p.

But the facing head of Arethusa on the Syracusan coin itself had a prototype. Another comparison remains, which not only throws a light on the sources from which Kimôn himself drew, but has a suggestive bearing on his own early history. There can, I venture to think, be little doubt that this beautiful design was itself in its essential lineaments derived from the beautiful three-quarters facing head of a Nymph—we may call her Parthenopê—which makes its appearance in the immediately preceding period on some didrachms of Neapolis.<sup>30</sup> (Pl. III., figs. 1, 2). The arrangement of the locks, the *ampyx* and its border, the character of the eyes, the dimples about the lips, the whole expression of countenance, present such remarkable points of agreement, that it is even difficult not to believe that both are by the same hand, and that Kimôn's initials may some day be detected on the band of the Neapolitan coins. The style of the engraving is also very similar to the finely incised lines of the hair, and recalls the use of the diamond point on gems of the same period. The greater simplicity of the Neapolitan design shows, however, that it is the original and not the copy. Its comparatively early date is, moreover, indicated by the style of the reverse and the *boustrophêdon* epigraphy—the civic legend appearing in the transitional

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124 *seqq.*, Pl. VI. 6, 8). M. Six assigns the earliest of these coins to the approximate date 394—387 B.C. Then follow others struck by Pharnabazos and Tarkamos, 387—373. The Duc de Luynes' attribution of a coin of this type to Mania, wife of Zenis, Satrap of Æolis (*op. cit.*, p. 48; *Suppl.*, Pl. VI. 2), who was strangled in 399 B.C., is untenable. M. Babelon has succeeded in tracing the original referred to in the *Cabinet des Médailles*, and the coin engraved turns out to be a misinterpreted bronze piece of Dardanos of later date with a three-quarters facing head of Apollo.

<sup>30</sup> *B. M. Cat., Italy*, p. 94, No. 11.

form  $\text{ΝΕΟΡΟΝΙ}$   
 $\text{ΖΗΤ}$ , and it fits on to still earlier versions of the same head in which the legend takes the form  $\text{ΝΕΟΡΟΝΙ}$ <sup>31</sup> and  $\text{ΝΕΟΡΟΝΙ}$ .<sup>32</sup> A companion-piece  $\text{ΖΕΤ}$  will be found in the beautiful Phistelian didrachm (Pl. III., fig. 3). The earliest of these coins must be referred to the years immediately succeeding the fall of Kymê, which took place in 423 B.C., and the immediate prototype of Kimôn's Arethusa is probably itself as early as 415.

The coincidences of style, design, and technique that reveal themselves between Kimôn's three-quarters facing head of Arethusa and the slightly earlier head on the Neapolitan coin do not by any means stand alone. The profile head of Arethusa in the net on Kimôn's later "medallions," as upon his fine tetradrachm, present both in their style and characteristic features a suggestive resemblance to the profile heads of Parthenopê and her sisters that about the same time make their appearance on some of the finest coins of Neapolis, Hyrina, and Nola. Examining such Campanian coin-types as those figured, Pl. II. 9—11, we notice the same bold relief, the recurrence of certain details in the ornament, to which attention will be more fully called, and a certain similarity in the manner of treating the hair, but above all we are struck by the same indefinable haughtiness of expression which forms such a marked characteristic of Kimôn's beautiful heads of Arethusa, and which in her case so fittingly bespeaks the double nature of her mythic being—half Nymph, half Artemis.

These Campanian affinities have an additional value when taken in connection with the range of Kimôn's

<sup>31</sup> Garrucci, *Le Monete*, &c., Tav. lxxxiv. 24.

<sup>32</sup> *Op. cit.*, Tav. lxxxiv. 23.

known activity in Sicily itself, and with the high probability suggested by a recently discovered type that he himself was of Chalkidian stock. In a preceding communication<sup>33</sup> I have already endeavoured to show that about the middle of the Fifth Century B.C. an earlier Kimôn left his signature on a fine tetradrachm of Himera, and have suggested that in this earlier artist we may venture to recognise the grandfather of the Kimôn who toward the close of the same century worked for the Syracusan mint. I further showed<sup>34</sup> that this later Kimôn executed more than one tetradrachm die for Messana, the Chalkidian mother-city of Himera, at a date slightly anterior to his first employment for the Syracusan coinage. As a matter of fact, while there is evidence of collaboration and interconnexion between the other contemporary engravers of the Syracusan dies, the signature of Eumenês being coupled on the same piece with that of one or other of his apparent pupils, Evænetos and Eukleidas, and that of Phrygillos with Evarchidas,—the reverses of Euth. . . forming a link between the two,—Kimôn stands by himself, and except on a single drachm with IM on the obverse his name is not associated with that of any other die-sinker.

That this engraver, who appears thus isolated in the Syracusan series, who on the dies of Syracuse introduces a Neapolitan type and a Campanian style, and who was, as we have seen, doubly connected with Chalkidian cities of the East and North Sicilian shores, had himself originally received his artistic training in one or other of the sister colonies on the opposite Tyrrhenian coast will

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<sup>33</sup> "Some New Artists' Signatures on Sicilian Coins," *Num. Chron.*, 1890, p. 285 *seqq.*

<sup>34</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 298 *seqq.*

hardly be thought an improbable conclusion. That he worked at least for one Italian mint appears certain from the occurrence of his signature on a silver stater of Metapontion,<sup>35</sup> presenting a female head, perhaps of Nikê, in style somewhat later than a head of the same general character on one of the latest coins of Kymê. The special connexion of Kimôn with the Chalkidian cities of Campania is, however, brought out, as already noticed, by an ornamental feature which, though at first sight it may appear trivial, will be found to afford a very tangible clue both to the extraction of the artist and the date of his dies. The forms of earring, namely, with which Kimôn's heads of Arethusa are adorned, are foreign to Syracusan and indeed to Sicilian<sup>36</sup> fashions, but on the other hand are closely akin to a type that is specially characteristic of the contemporary dies of Neapolis and her sister cities.

On the earliest coins of Syracuse on which this ornament appears, from the beginning of the Fifth Century onwards, it takes the form of a ring somewhat boat-shaped below and provided with an appendage that sometimes consists of a pyramid of beads or of one larger and two smaller globules, perhaps an outgrowth of the Homeric ἔρματα τρίγλῃνα μορόεντα.<sup>37</sup> About the middle of the Fifth Century this

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<sup>35</sup> Garrucci, *Le Monete dell' Italia antica*, Tav. ciii., Fig. 16 and p. 187. In Garrucci's own collection. The inscription, according to Garrucci, is "KIMΩN"; so far as the engraving is concerned, the Ω might be an incomplete O. Both text and engravings of Garrucci's book must, unfortunately, be used with caution.

<sup>36</sup> With the partial exception of the Segestan tetradrachm referred to above as in many ways a parallel piece to Kimôn's early dekadrachms.

<sup>37</sup> See Helbig, *Das Homerische Epos*, p. 271 seqq., and compare especially Figs. 97, 98, p. 274, with the Syracusan example in Head, *Coins of Syracuse*, Pl. II., Fig. 10, &c.

fashion gives way to an earring in the form of a coiled ring (*helix*) which is still universally adopted by Eumenês, Sôsiôn, Eukleidas, and on the earlier work of Evænetos. Of the earlier engravers, Phrygillos alone occasionally discards it for a whorl-shell, a form of earring which also occurs in the ear of Aphroditê on an archaic terra-cotta relief found on the site of Gela,<sup>38</sup> as well as in that of Persephonê Sôsipolis on the gold litras of that city. In the Fourth Century, on the other hand, we find the coiled ring and all other forms of earring abandoned in favour of the type exhibiting a bar and three pendants. The earliest coins on which this latter form makes its appearance are apparently the dekadrachm by the New Artist and the gold hundred-litra pieces of both Kimôn and Evænetos. It was from the first adopted by Evænetos for his "medallions," and henceforth became of universal use on the Syracusan dies.

On the other hand, the forms which occur on Kimôn's dekadrachms stand apart from those employed by all other



Pendants: A. Egyptian; B. Etruscan; C. Phœnician. Earrings: D. Kimôn's Medallions; E. Campanian.

Fig. 6.—Lotos Ornament and Earrings.

Syracusan engravers. His earlier head of Arethusa is seen adorned with a very beautiful floral form of earring, consisting of a lotos flower with three drops (Fig. 6, D).

<sup>38</sup> Now in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford.

The decorative design is itself of Egyptian origin<sup>39</sup> and finds close parallels in Phœnician,<sup>40</sup> Cypriote,<sup>41</sup> and Etruscan<sup>42</sup> pendants; it is interesting, however, to note that as a Greek fashion it seems to have been specially rife among the Campanian cities. From about 420 B.C. onwards a form closely allied to that introduced at Syracuse by Kimôn was in vogue at Neapolis, Hyrina, and Nola (Fig. 6, E), and it was only late in the Fourth Century that among the Campanian Greeks this floral type gave way to the bar and triple pendant. Upon Sicilian coins I am only aware of a single instance beside this early dekadrachm of Kimôn in which this floral form is introduced; and that in a very modified form. A somewhat analogous type, namely, is found on the beautiful head of the Nymph Segesta upon the tetradrachm of that city,<sup>43</sup> which has already been cited as standing in much the same typological relation to the Arethusa head of Evænetos' early manner as the head upon Kimôn's *pentêkontalitron*. On the dekadrachms in Kimôn's more advanced style and the tetradrachms that accompanied them, a simpler form of earring, consisting of a single drop, makes its appearance.

This form is also strange to the Syracusan dies, but like the last, it finds abundant parallels on the Italian side. It is found at Kymê before 423 B.C. and slightly later at Neapolis. It seems, moreover, to have been specially fashionable at Metapontion, where it appears on the heads

<sup>39</sup> Cf. Perrot et Chipiez, *Égypte*, p. 834, fig. 569, on bands of collar imitating pendants (xxii. Dyn.). (Fig. 6, A.)

<sup>40</sup> Perrot et Chipiez, *Phénicie*, p. 827, fig. 588. (Fig. 6, c.)

<sup>41</sup> Cesnola, *Cyprus*, Pl. XXIII. (Fig. 6, B.)

<sup>42</sup> *Museum Gregorianum*, T. lxxx. 4. (Fig. 6, B.)

<sup>43</sup> Pl. I., 4. It is well shown in the engraving in Salinas' *Sul Tipo de' Tetradrammi di Segesta* (Florence, 1871), Tav. I. f. 2.



of Hygieia and Homonoia of Late Transitional style, and it continues during the Period of Perfect Art, gradually giving place, however, to more ornamental forms, and finally to the bar and triple pendant. That these forms of earring introduced by Kimôn did not hit Sicilian taste<sup>44</sup> seems clear both from their non-acceptance by his successors at Syracuse itself, and by the fact that in the later of the Motyan imitations of his "medallion" head they are discarded in favour of the new fashion. On some of the Panormitic pieces, struck about 410 B.C., a variety of the triple pendant already appears, and it looks as if this form of the ornament had reached Syracuse under Carthaginian influence a few years later.

Recapitulating the conclusions arrived at on various grounds with regard to the date of Kimôn's "medallion" types, we arrive at the following results. The earliest of these (Type I.), representing the head of Arethusa in low relief (Pl. I., fig. 5), belongs to the years immediately succeeding 415 B.C., and in all probability, as I hope to show in a succeeding section, the date of its issue corresponds with the institution of the New Games in honour of the Athenian overthrow of 413 B.C.

Closely following this, but in higher relief, is the type which in my account of the Santa Maria hoard has been described as Type II. (Pl. II., fig. 1). It has not the full human individuality of expression that characterises Kimôn's more developed head of Arethusa as she appears, facing on the tetradrachm and in profile on his latest dekadrachm type. With this "medallion" issue corresponds the exquisite tetradrachm (Pl. II., fig. 2)

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<sup>44</sup> It is to be observed that on Kimôn's gold hundred-litra pieces the bar-earring with the triple pendant is used. In this case he seems to have simply imitated Evænetos' model.

with the profile head of the Nymph in high relief, and accompanied by a slightly earlier reverse scheme than those which appear on the coins with the facing head. The earliest of Kimôn's gold hundred-litra pieces (Pl. II. 3, 4) also reproduce the same facial type. Of Kimôn's later "medallions," it seems to be Type II., only, that was imitated on the coins of Panormos and Motya, belonging, as has been already pointed out, to the Phœnician recoinage about the time of the First Carthaginian expedition. It is probable, therefore, that this "medallion" type was issued as early as 410 B.C.

Next come the dekadrachms described as Type III. (Pl. II., fig. 8), exhibiting a portraiture of Arethusa, which is simply the profile rendering of the same queenly countenance that looks forth from his masterpiece—the tetradrachm with the facing head and the inscription **ΑΡΕΘΟΥΣΑ**, struck, as has been shown above, about 409 B.C. These coins represent the supreme development of Kimôn's style, and the individuality of features and expression clearly indicate that they are both of them taken from the same living model, whose beautiful but distinctly haughty face haunts all Kimôn's later presentations of the tutelary Nymph, in much the same manner as the idealised heads of Andrea's wife or Raffaele's mistress look forth from their Madonnas.

The very intimate relation existing between the portrait on this "medallion" and the facing head on the tetradrachm forbids us to bring down the date of the earliest example much below the year 409. On the other hand, its somewhat later style and the fact that this type was not, like the other two, imitated by the Siculo-Punic copyists of Kimôn's "medallions," who seem to have executed their dies during the years immediately succeeding 410

B.C., may incline us to bring it down as late as the beginning of the Dionysian Tyranny and approximately to the year 406. There is, however, more than one variety of this type, and as some of these are executed in a distinctly inferior style, we are justified in supposing that they belong to a somewhat later date.

The earliest and most exquisite example of the medallions in Kimôn's fully developed style is that engraved on Pl. II. fig. 8, and may be described as Type III. A.<sup>45</sup> It is much rarer than the coarser variety. The exquisite finish shown in the engraving of this head rivals that of Kimôn's earliest work, and in one small but beautiful detail it stands alone amongst portraits of this artist. This is the indication of the upper eyelashes, a minute touch frequent on heads of the late Transitional Period at Syracuse, and still repeated by the earlier master, Eumenês, but which on the later signed coins is no longer seen. Parallelism of style and expression shows that Kimôn's later gold staters (Pl. II., fig. 9) belong to the same Period as this "medallion" type.

What, however, may be called the rank and file of Kimôn's later "medallions," though in other respects copied from this model, show a distinct falling off in their execution. These coins, of which more than one small variety exists, may be grouped together as Type III. B, and they represent the most abundant of Kimôn's dekadrachm issues. It is possible that they were first issued two or three years later than Type III. A. From

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<sup>45</sup> *B. M. Cat., Syracuse*, No. 201; Head, *Coins of Syracuse*, Pl. IV. 7. The band above the forehead on this coin bears no inscription. Examples exist in the British Museum and the Cabinet des Médailles (Luynes Collection).

the fact, however, that, though the commonest of Kimôn's types, they are still rare by comparison with those of the rival artist, and from the strict adherence to a single model, it is not probable that their latest dies were executed much beyond the close of the Fifth Century.

## PART V.

### THE ARTISTIC CAREER OF EVÆNETOS AND THE INFLUENCE OF HIS "MEDALLION"-TYPE ON GREEK, PHOENICIAN AND CELT.

THE earliest numismatic record of Evænetos on the Syracusan dies or elsewhere is to be found on the remarkable tetradrachm (Pl. I. 3),<sup>1</sup> already referred to as the prototype of Kimôn's earliest "medallion," which was imitated in a more advanced style at Himera before 408 B.C., and, as will be shown more fully in the course of this section, at Segesta by about 415.<sup>2</sup>

The head on this coin, struck in all probability before 420 B.C.—perhaps as early as 425—is a masterpiece for the date at which it was engraved. Nothing can surpass the gemlike minuteness with which every detail, both of the obverse and reverse designs, is here elaborated. The ingenuity displayed is marvellous. To indicate apparently that the portrait is intended for Arethusa, the Nymph of the fountain by the waves, a dolphin, hardly visible to

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<sup>1</sup> *B. M. Cat., Sicily*, No. 188; Weil, *Künstlerinschriften*, &c., Taf. ii. 1, and p. 10. Von Sallet, *Künstlerinschriften*, &c., p. 17; Raoul Rochette, *Lettre*, &c., *sur les Graveurs*, Pl. II. 6, and p. 25, &c.

<sup>2</sup> Its early date is also indicated by the frequent association of the reverse with obverse types of the earlier master Eumenês. (Cf. *B. M. Cat., Sicily*, p. 166, Nos. 148—150.)

ordinary eyes, is engraved on the front band of the sphendonê, leaping over the crested billows, just as on the parallel example of the same head executed by the contemporary and fellow-worker Eukleidas, a swan appears in a like position. The signature on the obverse is hidden in a most unexpected quarter. By a sportive device the larger dolphin, swimming in front of the Nymph's lips, turns over and reveals upon its belly in microscopic characters the first four letters of the artist's name. Upon the reverse Nikê, while flying forward to crown the charioteer, holds aloft a suspended tablet, bearing the full signature of the die-sinker in the early genitival form, **EYAINETO**. The bearded charioteer has still an archaic aspect, but the scheme of the horses, which are themselves exquisitely modelled, is altogether modern in the sensational incident of the chariot-race that it so graphically depicts. The rein of the farthest horse is broken, and has entangled itself round his foreleg and that of the horse beside him,<sup>3</sup> so that a worse catastrophe seems imminent.

On other tetradrachms associated with heads either by Eumenês or Eukleidas, there is seen a reverse of a slightly later style containing the signature of Evænetos, in the same full-length form, in microscopic letters on the exergual line beneath the chariot.<sup>4</sup> On this later reverse, in which the same episode of the tangled and trailing rein occurs, the sensation is heightened by the insertion of a broken chariot-wheel into the exergual space. A similar reverse, but with a head like that of the

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<sup>3</sup> This entanglement of the rein, which is clearly visible on a fine specimen of this coin in my own collection, seems hitherto to have escaped observation.

<sup>4</sup> *B. M. Cat., Sicily*, p. 173, No. 190.

first-mentioned tetradrachm,<sup>5</sup> from the hand of Evænetos, also occurs on a very beautiful hêmídrachm<sup>6</sup> (Pl. VII. Fig. 8).

For the date at which they were engraved these tetradrachms of Evænetos are without a rival, and should by themselves be sufficient to give pause to those critics who would seek the full bloom of sensationalism on the Sicilian coin-types within the limits of the Dionysian epoch.

Compared with Evænetos' later dies, and notably his "medallions," the head of Arethusa, as it appears on his early tetradrachms and kindred hêmídrachms, has been justly described by Von Sallet as executed in his "early manner." They were the works, he considers, of Evænetos' youth, the dekadrachms of his mature age, and the two designs "stand to one another, if it is allowable to compare small things with great, as the *Sposalizio* to the *Madonna di San Sisto*. The gracefulness and chasteness of the small individual figures on the tetradrachms, the careful execution of the ornamentation and embroidery, all this greatly recalls the youthful works of Raffaele and other Italian painters in contrast to their masterpieces, which—as in the case of dekadrachms—treat the details in a freer and less minute fashion."<sup>7</sup>

The general justice of this criticism no one can doubt. Between the execution by this artist of his early tetradrachm dies and those of his "medallions" there must have elapsed a considerable period of years.<sup>8</sup> At Syracuse, indeed, Evænetos is found again, apparently, as

<sup>5</sup> *B. M. Cat.*, Nos. 151 and 190; Head, *Coins of Syracuse*, iv. 4; Weil, *op. cit.*, Tav. iii. 6.

<sup>6</sup> Head, *op. cit.*, Pl. III. 16.

<sup>7</sup> Von Sallet, *Künstlerinschriften auf griechischen Münzen*, p. 20.

<sup>8</sup> Von Sallet, *loc. cit.*, allows an interval of two or three decennia between the two styles.

we shall see, in the years succeeding the defeat of the Athenians, executing the dies of the new gold hundred-and fifty-litra pieces. But the execution of these fits on to his later style, as seen upon his earliest silver deka-drachms, and from the evidence at our disposal we must conclude that there had intervened a period, partly covered by the Athenian siege, during which, for some unexplained reason, his connexion with the Syracusan mint had temporarily ceased.

This gap is, in all probability, partly covered by his activity at Katanê, where he produced two types, the tetradrachms (Pl. VII. Fig. 9, *a* and *b*) with the head of Apollo and the Delphic fillet,<sup>9</sup> and the drachms (Pl. VII. Fig. 10) with the head of the young river-god Amenanos,<sup>10</sup> which from a certain severity in their design must still be included amongst the works executed in his "early manner," though they are apparently slightly later than the Syracusan tetradrachm referred to. On the reverse of the former of these coins, on which the charioteer is seen in the act of rounding the goal, Nikê appears above holding out to him a tablet bearing the first letters of the name of the engraver, a device which brings this coin into a very close relation with Evænetos' early Syracusan works. The chariot with the broken wheel below, on the drachms exhibiting the head of Amenanos, is in fact the companion piece to those on Evænetos' early Syracusan tetradrachms and hêmídrachms.

To this period of Evænetos' activity also unquestionably belongs the beautiful didrachm of Kamarina (Pl. VII. Fig.

<sup>9</sup> *B. M. Cat., Sicily*, p. 48, No. 35; Weil, *op. cit.*, Taf. ii. 4, 4 *a*; Raoul Rochette, *op. cit.*, Pl. I. 8.

<sup>10</sup> *B. M. Cat.*, p. 48, Nos. 36—39; Weil, *op. cit.*, Taf. ii. 5; Raoul Rochette, *op. cit.*, Pl. I. 9.



11), with the facing head of the river-god Hipparis,<sup>11</sup> the reverse design of which with the local Nymph upon her swan, sailing over the waters of her lake, was copied in the succeeding years on a series of dies by the local engraver Exakestidas. The swan above the waves, accompanied by the same freshwater fish that is seen beneath on the didrachm of Evænetos, occurs by itself on contemporary Kamarinæan obols of the same period, the obverse of which displays a female head in a starred sphendonê, recalling that artist's early Syracusan design.

Besides the evidence of Evænetos' activity during this interval at Katanê and Kamarina, there is, I venture to think, a strong piece of circumstantial evidence connecting this artist about the same date with the Segestan mint. The fine head of the Nymph Segesta that appears on a tetradrachm of that Elymian city (Pl. I. Fig. 4),<sup>12</sup> recalls, not only in its general expression, but in the minutest details, the Arethusa of Evænetos' early Syracusan dies. The formation of the eye, and slight—almost imperceptible—incurving at the spring of the nose, the delicate folds of the neck, are reproduced in such a way as to make us conscious of very similar touch, and the arrangement of the hair, though it shows a greater development, as if to give promise of the curling tresses of Evænetos' Korê, is substantially the same. On the other hand there are certain features in the design, such as the indication of the upper eyelashes and the laced fringe of the sphendonê, that are taken, not from Evænetos' early head of Arethusa, but from the head as it appears on a die

<sup>11</sup> *B. M. Cat., Kamarina*, No. 16.

<sup>12</sup> *B. M. Cat.*, No. 32; Salinas, *Sul tipo de' tetradrammi di Segesta*, Tav. I. 2. The obverse legend is  $\Sigma$ ELE $\Sigma$ TAIA; the reverse  $\Sigma$ EFE $\Sigma$ TAION.

of the earlier artist Eumenês, from which he himself copied.<sup>13</sup>

This variation in the design—still according with the artistic tradition of Evænetos—may be taken as a strong indication that this beautiful head of Segesta must be referred, if not to Evænetos himself, at least to some Syracusan pupil of that engraver.

One feature alone—the earring—is new. It belongs to a later fashion, and is interesting as presenting a form intermediate between the lotus-flower pattern and the simple triple pendant of Evænetos' later coins.<sup>14</sup> Whether the reverse type of this coin, representing the youthful river-god Krimisos pausing in the chase, be from the same hand as the head of the Nymph Segesta, it would be more difficult to determine, but it is in any case a work of which Evænetos himself might have been proud.

And with regard to the date of this Segestan coin we have some very clear indications both numismatic and historical. It belongs to a small and exceedingly rare class of coins of this denomination, presenting transitional traits both in their epigraphy and art, which unquestionably owed their origin to the exhaustive and by no means scrupulous efforts of the Segestans to secure and maintain the active co-operation of the Athenians, in their struggle against the combined Selinuntines and Syracusans, by imposing on their old allies with an exaggerated show of their opulence and splendour. Readers of Thucydides will be familiar with the story of how the "Egestæans" took in the Athenian envoys by borrowing plate from other cities as well as their own Treasury and passing it on

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<sup>13</sup> *B. M. Cat., Sicily*, p. 166, No. 152; Weil, *op. cit.*, Taf. 1. 7.

<sup>14</sup> See p. 288.

from one entertainer to another, or how they paraded to them their offerings in the temple of Eryx, which, though only of silver, seem from the impression they produced to have been coated with the more precious metal.<sup>15</sup> That the citizens now for the first time minted a fine tetradrachm coinage executed by the first artists of the day in place of the somewhat rude didrachm issues with which they had hitherto contented themselves, is all of a piece with this parade of borrowed plate and silver-gilt goblets. There is every reason then for confining this Segestan show-coinage to the period between the despatch of the Segestan envoys and the return visit of the Athenians in 416 B.C., and the final catastrophe of their Athenian allies in 413.<sup>16</sup>

The Segestan piece that immediately concerns us is not the earliest tetradrachm type of that city, but neither is it the latest. On the one hand we find the same reverse die with which it is coupled also associated with a very different head of the Nymph, belonging properly to a didrachm type and of rude transitional workmanship.<sup>17</sup> On the other hand there is extant a later version of the design of the youthful River-God Krimisos, associated with a galloping quadriga, on a tetradrachm, which probably represents the latest issue of the kind at Segesta.<sup>18</sup> We shall not

<sup>15</sup> Thuc. *Hist.* vi., c. 46; and cf. Diodôros, lib. xii. c. 83.

<sup>16</sup> The sixty talents paid to the Athenians by the Segestans before the expedition were, however, of uncoined silver (ἀσκήμων ἱπρυπίον), Thuc. vi. 8.

<sup>17</sup> *B. M. Cat., Segesta*, No. 30; Salinas, *Sul tipo de' tetradrammi li Segesta*, Tav. 1. 3. The highly interesting tetradrachm in the De Luynes collection (Salinas, *op. cit.*, Tav. 1. 1, and p. 9, *seqq.*), is also slightly earlier. It shows the older epigraphic form ΕΡΕΞΤΑΙΟΝ.

<sup>18</sup> *B. M. Cat., Segesta*, No. 34; Salinas, *op. cit.*, Tav. 1. 4—10.

therefore be far wrong in fixing the years 415 or 414 as the approximate date of the piece under discussion; and whether the obverse die of this coin was executed by Evænetos himself or one of his pupils, this chronological datum has, as already noticed,<sup>19</sup> an important retrospective bearing on the date of the early Syracusan tetradrachm of that artist. For it is certain that, whoever was the actual engraver of the die, the design itself stands in a filial relation to his Syracusan type. A certain advance in style, the greater development of the hair, the new form of earring, are so many indications that some years at least had elapsed between the engraving of Evænetos' early head of Arethusa and its Segestan copy. In presence of this beautiful head of the Nymph Segesta, we feel ourselves indeed much nearer the later version of Arethusa, if Arethusa it be that occurs with Evænetos' signature on the gold hundred-litra pieces of Syracuse, executed, as we shall see, not long after the Athenian defeat. This Segestan work, of which it may at least be said that it belongs to the school of Evænetos, is indeed of extreme utility in enabling us to bridge over his earlier and his later "manner," and to supply a tolerably consecutive art-history of this engraver. Of the importance of this Segestan coin in its bearing on the earliest dekadrachm type of Kimôn, with which it also presents so many points in common, enough perhaps has been said in the preceding section.<sup>20</sup>

Apart from the possibility of his having worked for Segesta, the activity of Evænetos at Katanê during the period which includes the Athenian siege sufficiently accounts for the break in this engraver's connexion

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<sup>19</sup> See p. 259.

<sup>20</sup> See p. 260.

with the Syracusan mint. If Segesta was the original ally and inviter of the Athenians, Katanê became throughout the period of hostilities an Athenian place of arms. There is quite enough therefore in the circumstances of the times to account for the detention of Evænetos, far longer than he himself may have desired, outside the walls of the great Sicilian city which had been the scene of his earliest as it was to be of his latest work.

In 409 B.C. peace was formally concluded between Syracuse and Katanê, and it is a significant fact that about this date Evænetos appears once more at Syracuse, as the engraver of the dies for the new gold coinage.

This new gold coinage consisted of pieces of two denominations; the larger, representing a silver value of a hundred litras, and the halves of the same of a gold value equivalent to the silver "medallions" or *pentêkonta-litra*.<sup>21</sup> The hundred-litra pieces (Pl. V. figs. 1—3)<sup>22</sup> present on their obverse a head of Arethusa in the star-spangled sphendonê, the earliest of which very closely approach the head of the same Nymph on Kimôn's earliest medallions of the higher relief (Type II.), struck, as we

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<sup>21</sup> Head, *Coins of Syracuse*, p. 20.

<sup>22</sup> A hoard containing some fine specimens of these gold coins has recently been discovered at Avola, in Sicily, and published by Herr Arthur Löbbecke (*Münzfund von Avola in Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1890, p. 167 *seqq.*) Thanks to the kindness of Mr. H. Montagu, I am able to reproduce in Pl. V. figs. 1 and 2, two fine gold staters of Evænetos from this hoard, which are now in his Cabinet. Many have been acquired by the British Museum. According to my own information more than one find has been discovered in the same Sicilian district within the last few years, and I have myself seen specimens of two hoards of very different composition, one apparently dating from the early part of the Fourth Century and the other from the beginning of the Third. The coins described by Herr Löbbecke

have seen,<sup>23</sup> from about 410 B.C. onwards. From the signatures that accompany them it appears that both Kimôn and Evænetos contributed towards producing these dies. The signatures appear in the forms **EYAI**, **EYAINÉ**,<sup>24</sup> **K**, and **KI**, and are always on the obverse side. The civic name appears on one of the coins signed by Kimôn,<sup>25</sup> in the earlier form  $\Xi$ **YPA KO** $\Xi$ **ION**, but otherwise the  $\Omega$  is always present. The form of the earring also varies. On some pieces it is a single drop, as on Kimôn's later "medallions." On the greater number of coins, however, the triple pendant is found. The pellets and star which at times accompany the obverse head exhibit a parallelism with some of the silver dekadrachm types of Evænetos;<sup>26</sup> and this, as well as the development per-

seem to me to belong to two distinct hoards, one of early gold coins including, besides the Syracusan, staters of Lampsakos and Abydos and a Persian Daric: the other of late silver coins, Pegasi, &c. Many gold coins of Agathoklēs and Hiketas were also found here about the same time as the early staters, but these seem to have belonged to a third and still later hoard.

<sup>23</sup> See p. 271 and 286.

<sup>24</sup> The legend **EYAINÉ** occurs on an example in the Cabinet des Médailles, Paris, published by the Duc de Luynes, *Rev. Num.* 1840, p. 21. Comparing this with another hundred-litra piece in the same collection with the signature (**KI**) of Kimôn, the Duc de Luynes observes: "Identiques pour le type ces deux statères, gravés, sans doute, en concurrence par les premiers artistes de Syracuse, offrent pourtant toute la différence de relief, de pose, de tête, et de traits que l'on observe entre les médaillons d'Evænète et ceux de Cimon."

<sup>25</sup> *B. M. Cat., Sicily*, p. 170, No. 168.

<sup>26</sup> On one gold piece (*Annuaire de Numismatique*, 1868, Pl. III.) two pellets are seen, which Head (*Coins of Syracuse*, p. 20) with great probability takes to stand for two dekadrachms. On some silver dekadrachms of Evænetos a single pellet is seen, as if indicating the half of the gold coin. It is evident therefore that the issue of these gold hundred-litra pieces overlapped that of Evænetos' silver *pentékontalitra*.

ceptible in style, shows that these gold hundred-litra pieces continued to be issued for a certain number of years. Of the gold staters of Evænetos those with the star behind the head (Pl. V. fig. 1), which, although unsigned, must in all probability be attributed to this artist, are unquestionably the earliest. They present, as will be shown, a remarkable parallelism in style with his earliest "medallions." The latest type (Pl. V. fig. 3) is executed in his most modern manner and displays his signature.

The reverse of these gold staters represents a noble design of Hêraklês strangling the Nemean lion, which seems to betray the influence of a great work by Myrôn. No signature is attached to this design, and we can only infer that some dies are from the hand of Kimôn and some from that of Evænetos.

The halves of the larger pieces, or gold *pentêkontalitra*, show on one side a young male head, evidently of a River-God—whether Anapos or Assinaros it might be hard to determine—and on the other a free horse on a kind of double base. From the E which occasionally appears behind the head (cf. Pl. V. fig. 4), it is evident that Evænetos engraved some, at least, of the dies.

The appearance of the free horse upon these coins is itself a most valuable indication as to date. By the analogy of the later coins of Syracuse, in which the same device is coupled with the head of Zeus Eleutherios, and which belong to the days of the later Democracy,<sup>27</sup> we are

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<sup>27</sup> I have elsewhere brought forward reasons for believing that this type belongs to the time of Alexander the Molossian's expedition (*Horsemen of Tarentum*, p. 83). The cult of Zeus Eleutherios, however, had been introduced into Syracuse as early as 466 B.C., on the exile of Thrasybulos and the estab-

naturally led to associate this type with the democratic outburst that followed at Syracuse on the defeat of the Athenians, and which took concrete shape in the banishment of Hermokratês and the aristocratic leaders, and the revision of the constitution by Dioklês.<sup>28</sup> The contemporary type of Hêraklês strangling the lion, also in all probability, contains a speaking allusion to the liberation from the great danger of foreign dominion that had threatened Syracuse and Sicily. At a little later date, indeed, we find a similar design appearing on the federal coins of the Italiote Greeks, with a direct reference to the strife against their common enemies. As a symbol of alliance, moreover, the actual design as it occurs on the Syracusan hundred-litra pieces was copied on a silver stater of Tarsos (Pl. V. fig. 8), and another of Mallos, in Cilicia, belonging to the period between the Persian dominion and that of the Seleukids.<sup>29</sup> The obverse of the coin of Tarsos represents a female head of Hêra in a stephanos adorned with an *anthêmion*—an offshoot of the Argive type—accompanied by the legend ΤΕΡΞΙΚΟΝ. That of Mallos displays a head of Zeus, laurel-crowned, and, according to the Duc de Luynes, the reverse of both pieces, representing Hêraklês strangling the lion, is from

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lishment at that time of a democratic government. (Diod., xi. 72.)

<sup>28</sup> I observe that Mr. Head (*Coins of Syracuse*, p. 20), though he was inclined to place the issue of these gold pieces under Dionysios, was so far impressed with the same argument that he writes, "The type is more appropriate to the Democracy than to the Tyranny of Dionysios; possibly the dies were engraved shortly before his accession, but as it has the Ω it is not likely to be much earlier than 406."

<sup>29</sup> Duc de Luynes, *Essai sur la Numismatique des Satrapies et de la Phénicie*, p. 62; Suppl. Pl. XI. (Wt. 10·50 grammes; Cabinet des Médailles.)



the same die, a remarkable evidence of a monetary convention between the two cities.<sup>30</sup>

That, as a matter of fact, the earliest of these gold pieces date back to the Democratic period that succeeded the Athenian siege is shown by a remarkable, though hitherto neglected, piece of evidence. The free horse, namely, on the gold fifty-litra pieces, above described, with the curious double base below, supplied the design for some of the earliest Carthaginian tetradrachms struck in Sicily, which, as already stated, must be referred to the date of Hannibal the son of Giskôn's expedition. It is highly probable that this early Carthaginian coinage for the use of the mercenaries employed in Sicily was largely struck out of the immense treasure acquired by the successive capture of Selinûs and Himera, in 409 B.C., and shortly supplemented by that of Akragas and Gela. The immediate occasion of it may well have been the equipment of the second expedition under Hannibal and Himilkôn, just as the preparation for the first Expedition seems to have called forth the first "Carthaginian" issue of Motya and Panormos. Up to this time Carthage had no coinage of her own. For a while her generals were content to use the currency of her Phœnician dependents in the Island. But the practice of her allies, the needs of her Campanian mercenaries and the loot of the Greek cities seem by the time of the Second Expedition to have suggested to her commanders the propriety of striking an independent coinage with the name of Carthage. The approximate date for the first coinage of these "Camp Pieces" may be therefore set down as 406—5 B.C.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>30</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 62, "Même coin du revers que la médaille de Tarse." (Wt. 10.27 grammes : De Luynes Coll.)

<sup>31</sup> See p. 270.

Of this early "Camp Coinage" there are two main types, both of which were well represented in the recent West-Sicilian find, described under Appendix A. These coins, which bear the legends *Machanat* (𐤌𐤕𐤍𐤕), or "the Camp," and *Kart-Chadasat* (𐤕𐤓𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤓𐤕𐤕),<sup>32</sup> or "Carthage," show on their reverses the Phœnician palm-tree, but the obverse designs of both have a direct reference to the contemporary gold coinage of two Sicilian Greek cities, in the one case of Syracuse, in the other of Gela.

The obverse of one of these Carthaginian types represents a free horse galloping to the left and crowned by a flying Victory (Pl. V. fig. 10), and, though the Victory is absent on the Syracusan piece, the horse itself is a very exact reproduction of that which appears on the gold dekadrachms of Syracuse already referred to. That it is, in fact, taken from the Syracusan coin appears from the further reproduction of the double-lined base, or two-fold exergual line which is seen beneath the horse on the Syracusan original, and which on the Punic copy serves at times to contain the inscription *Kart-Chadasat*, in the same position as the  $\Sigma\text{YPAKO}\Sigma\text{ION}$  on some of the Syracusan originals. A double exergual line is itself so exceptional a phenomenon that its appearance beneath the horse in both designs, as well as its connexion with the legend, affords a clear indication that one is taken from the other. A similar indebtedness is also shown by a Siculo-Punic didrachm<sup>33</sup> with the inscription "Ziz," and in this case, moreover, the youthful male head on the obverse was evidently suggested by that of the River-God on the Syracusan *pentékontalitron*.

<sup>32</sup> L. Müller, *Numismatique de l'ancienne Afrique*, vol. ii., p. 74, 75.

<sup>33</sup> *B. M. Cat., Sicily*, p. 248, No. 20.

On the other main type of these early Carthaginian tetradrachms the free horse is replaced by the forepart of a horse, usually equipped with a bridle, the loop of which curves up in a curious way behind his head (Fig. 8). This type, in its turn, recalls the half horse with a looped handle on a gold litra of Gela, the obverse side of which displays a head of Persephonê and the inscription  $\epsilon \Omega \epsilon \iota - \text{OAI} \epsilon$  (Fig 7).<sup>34</sup> This small Gelan coin is the half of a better-known gold *dilitron* having a whole horse on reverse, and, taking the proportion of gold to silver as 15 to 1, the two coins respectively represent silver values of six and three drachmæ.

It will be seen that the half horse on this Gelan coin is a real significance, indicating, according to a well-



Fig. 7.—Gold Litra of Gela. (2 diams.)

established rule of the Greek monetary system, that it is a half of the larger piece representing the complete minimal. On the Gelan piece, again, in conformity with the half bull which is the usual type of the city and stands for the river-god Gelas, the half horse is represented as swimming rather than galloping, and this peculiarity of the motive seems slightly to have affected the

<sup>34</sup> This coin, of which I obtained a specimen from the site of a Greek cemetery at Gela (Terranova), a vineyard of Sig. E. Auricella, in 1888, is of the greatest rarity, and has not been described by any author since an indifferent engraving of it appeared in Castelli's work (Auct. II. *Gelensium*). It weighs 18½ grains (cf. p. 63). A forgery of this type is known, with a much coarser head and in higher relief, a specimen of which was sold in the York Moore sale.

forelegs of the horse on some of the Carthaginian coins. The grain of barley here seen either before or above the horse is evidently taken from the contemporary tetradrachms of Gela, where it appears above the bull. It is highly probable that this issue was struck out of bullion acquired by the capture of Gela in 405 B.C.

It is evident that the Carthaginian moneyers, in attaching this half horse with the looped bridle to their new dies, were simply transferring a design from a place where it had an obvious meaning to a place where it has no special appropriateness. The Gelan gold litra is the original, and the Siculo-Punic tetradrachm is the copy, finely executed, indeed, and by a skilled Greek hand.




Fig. 8.—Carthaginian "Camp-Piece" (Tetradrachm).

We thus acquire a useful analogy for the contemporary imitation of the small Syracusan gold piece. From this Gelan parallel, as well as on the ground of general probability, we are entitled to infer that in this case, too, the design on the Greek coins is the original, and the Punic a copy.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>35</sup> That the Carthaginian moneyers should have thus selected the horse and half horse for imitation on their coinage was probably not due to arbitrary causes. The horse seems to have had a special significance in their eyes as a Libyan emblem (cf. *Movers Phönizier*, ii. 1, p. 4; Müller, *Num. de l'ancienne Afrique*, ii. 115); and perhaps as consecrated to the God of the Sea. On many Siculo-Punic and Carthaginian coins, however, it is undoubtedly associated with symbols of Baal and Ashtoreth.

It thus appears that some at least of the gold fifty and hundred-litra pieces of Syracuse were already in circulation before the date of the first issue of these Carthaginian Camp Coins," which, as has been shown, may be approximately set down as 406—5 B.C. On the other hand, from the fact that upon these coins, with very few exceptions, the earring with its triple pendant already occurs, it is probable that they were not issued much earlier than this date.

In close connection with these Punic tetradrachms, and testing the same Syracusan influences, must also be mentioned two extremely rare Punic gold pieces (Pl. V., fig. 1), weighing respectively 117·9<sup>36</sup> and 23 grs.<sup>37</sup> Both these coins exhibit an obverse head of Dêmêtêr, with a single-drop earring wreathed with ears of barley, which seems to show the influence both of the gold hundred-litra pieces of Evænetos and of his silver "medallions," with the head of Korê.<sup>38</sup> They bear at the same time on their reverse a free horse on a double-lined base, evidently derived from the reverse design on the fifty-litra gold piece by the same artist, though here consecrated, as it would seem, to the Phœnician divinity by the symbol  placed in the field above it. From the superior style of

<sup>36</sup> Müller (*Num. de l'anc. Afrique*, ii. p. 86, No. 74). The single example cited is in the B. M. Another variety exists without the symbol. Both are Phœnician staters (Müller, No. 75).

<sup>37</sup> In the B. M. a smaller gold coin also exists, with a similar head and a horse's head on the rev. Müller, *op. cit.* ii. p. 87, no. 77 (Weight, 1·57 — 1·52 grammes).

<sup>38</sup> A Siculo-Punic tetradrachm, with the inscription, *Kart-hadasat* (Müller, *op. cit.* p. 74, 1; Head, *Coins of the Ancients*, l. XXVI. 89) shows an obverse head of the same type, but with an earring of three pendants in place of a single drop, which betrays the later fashion. The reverse, a horse standing in front of a palm-tree, fits on to a somewhat later series of Siculo-Punic coins.

these coins, which separate them *longo intervallo* from the later gold and electrum series of Carthage, it is evident that, like the tetradrachms with the similar reverse type, they must be referred to the earliest period of Carthaginian coinage in Sicily. In this case, the first appearance of the head of Dêmêtêr on a coin struck by Carthaginian authority was, in all probability, anterior by a few years at least to the outrage on her Syracusan sanctuary that evoked the special expiatory cult of the Goddess at Carthage itself.

There is nothing, at least, in such a supposition that need surprise us. The Hellenization both of Carthage itself and its dependencies in the Island had by this date reached such a pitch that the acceptance by them of the cult of the presiding divinities of Sicily was only to be expected. The head of Arethusa, on one side of her mythical being more of a Goddess than a Nymph, had already been copied at Motya and Panormos. Nay, more, we know that as early as 480 B.C. Gelôn had required the Carthaginians to build two temples, which could not well be other than those of "the Goddesses," in which the stones were to be preserved whereon the treaty was graven.<sup>39</sup>

Both the fact that the cult of Dêmêtêr and her Daughter was probably of old standing at Carthage at this date, and the actual appearance of the head of the Mother Goddess on Carthaginian gold types presumably anterior to 396 B.C., bring into relief a negative phenomenon which the recently discovered West Sicilian hoard<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> Diod. xi. 26. Freeman, *Sicily*, ii. 210, remarks: "These could not fail to be temples to Greek deities; we may say almost with certainty that they were temples to the goddesses of Sicily, the special patronesses of Gelôn and his house, Dêmêtêr and the Korê."

<sup>40</sup> See Appendix A.

establishes with great precision. In that hoard, withdrawn from circulation about 400 B.C., the early "Camp coinage" of Carthage in the Island, presenting the horse and half horse, together with the contemporary or slightly earlier issues of the old Phœnician settlements Motya and Panormos, was brilliantly represented.<sup>41</sup> There occurred a "medallion" in Kimôn's later style (Type II.), slightly used, and three early "medallions" of Evænetos in brilliant condition; but whereas among the Phœnician coins of Motya and those inscribed *Ziz*, which must probably be referred to the Panormitis, there were, as already mentioned in the section on Kimôn, a series of imitations of the earlier "medallion" types of that artist,<sup>42</sup> not a single example occurred of a Siculo-Punic coin-type imitated from the Korê head of Evænetos, though we know that at a slightly later date this magnificent design took, as it were, the Punic world by storm. In the absence of any religious reason for not copying this type, which, as we have seen, there is no warrant for supposing, the inevitable conclusion to which we are led is, that at the time when, in 410—8 B.C., this class of Motyan and Panormitic coins first issued from the mint, the silver dekadrachms of Evænetos had not yet made their appearance. In this department Kimôn still held the field.

On the other hand, it does not seem safe to bring down the first issue of Evænetos' "medallions" many years below this date. From the fact that two fine specimens of Evænetos' dekadrachms were contained in the "West Sicilian" hoard, there is good reason for believing that their issue had begun some few years at least before 400 B.C. The gold hundred-litra pieces of Evænetos

<sup>41</sup> See Appendix A.

<sup>42</sup> See p. 270 *seqq.*

supply a still more definite chronological indication. Just as the earliest of the gold staters presenting Kimôn's signature show an obvious analogy in style to his second type of silver dekadrachms,<sup>43</sup> so the earliest of those attributable to Evænetos connect themselves in the most evident manner with his early silver "medallions," exhibiting a cockle-shell behind the head of Korê (Pl. V., fig. 10). This is the "medallion" type the reverse of which, as already pointed out,<sup>44</sup> shows the nearest approach to that of the New Engraver, and which closest follows his work in date. If, then, as shown by their Carthaginian imitations dating from 406—5 B.C., the gold staters of Evænetos were struck by about 408 B.C., it becomes highly probable, on every ground, that the earliest "medallion" dies were engraved shortly after that date, say, by 406 B.C.

The date thus acquired for the first issue of the silver "medallions" of Evænetos agrees very well with the fact, deducible from the marks of value that occur on some of them,<sup>45</sup> that the coinage of the gold hundred-litra pieces seems to have to a certain extent overlapped that of these silver *pentêkontalitra*. In the case of the gold coins two dots occasionally occur beside the head; in the case of their silver halves a single dot.

The first appearance of Evænetos' splendid design of the head of Korê at the very beginning of the Dionysian Era fully agrees with the intimate relation in which it stands to the head of the same Goddess on the newly discovered "medallion," the issue of which has been referred to the same date as Kimôn's third "medallion" type, or approximately to the same year, 406 B.C.

Of the relation in which Evænetos' "medallion" type

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<sup>43</sup> See p. 286.

<sup>44</sup> See p. 247.

<sup>45</sup> See p. 298, note.



stands to the work of the New Artist enough will have been said in the section devoted to that subject. As supplying a new standpoint for critically surveying the masterpiece of Evænetos, the new coin has an unique value. Especially does it bring into clear relief that artistic quality of Evænetos which led him, in his more modern presentation of the Korê, to subordinate details to the general effect, while the reverse type illustrates his singular ingenuity in bringing out by characteristic touches the most thrilling incidents in the chariot race.

In the "medallion" series of Evænetos himself there is distinct evidence of a progressive advance in style which is most palpably perceptible in the treatment of his chariot groups. The action of the horses on his earlier dies is much more even and level—far less sensational, indeed, than on the tetradrachms executed by him at a considerably earlier date. In this again, as suggested above, we may detect the sobering influence of the very regular and harmonious design in the "medallion" by the New Engraver. Upon the dekadrachms of Evænetos, however, the action of the horses becomes rapidly higher, till the foremost horses seem to break away from their fellows.

To attempt any exact chronology of these successive issues would be impossible with the data at our disposal. The variety of dies and the different symbols introduced, as well as the evidences of development in style, show that the coinage of the silver dekadrachms of Evænetos must have continued for a considerable number of years. Among the earliest types, after those with a cockle-shell behind the head of Korê (Pl. V. fig. 10), which must certainly claim precedence, are those which present a  $\Delta$  (probably =  $\Delta\epsilon\kappa\acute{\alpha}\delta\rho\alpha\chi\mu\omicron\nu$ ) in the field, and the signature

**EYAINÉ** beneath the neck (Pl. V. fig. 11). The latest is unquestionably the new type afforded by the Santa Maria di Licodia hoard, exhibiting the full signature in the later orthography **EYAINETOY**, beneath a head of abnormally small proportions<sup>46</sup> (Pl. V. fig. 13). From the evidence supplied by this find it appears that this latter coin must have been struck before the approximate date 380 B.C. If we allow a period of about twenty years for the engraving of Evænetos' "medallion" dies, it may have been struck as late as 385 B.C. From the oxidized or fractured state to which some of the dies had been reduced when many of the coins bearing his designs were struck, it appears, however, probable that they still continued in use at a time when, whether from death or old age or some other cause, the activity of Evænetos himself had ceased.<sup>47</sup> The fact, to which attention will be shortly called, that these fine coins continued to be imitated, both by Greeks and Carthaginians, down to the Third Century B.C., also tends to show that their circulation, if not their issue, continued to be fairly abundant for some time after the latest possible date at which their dies can have been engraved. This conclusion, as I hope to show, is of considerable importance in helping us to bridge over an extensive gap in the Syracusan coinage.

The appearance of the head of Dêmêtêr on the early Siculo-Punic gold pieces above referred to, is at most an isolated phenomenon. It does not exclude the main fact with which we have to deal,<sup>48</sup> namely, that the attempts made by Carthage to reconcile the offended Goddesses for

<sup>46</sup> See p. 226.

<sup>47</sup> See p. 224, 229.

<sup>48</sup> Diodôros xiv. 63 and 77. Of Müller, *op. cit.* ii. pp. 110, 111. Münter, *Religion des Carth.* p. 108; De Sauley, *Acad. des Inscriptions*, T. XV. Pl. II. p. 53, 54.

the profanation of their shrines during the campaign of 396—4, in all probability explained the prominent place assumed by Dêmêtêr and her daughter on the later Punic coinages, both in Sicily and Africa.

The date of this solemn propitiation may, perhaps, be approximately set down as 393 B.C., and it is shortly after this time that the brilliant series of tetradrachms presenting obverse heads copied from the Korê of Evænetos' medallions makes its first appearance from the Siculo-Punic dies. The bulk of these coins belongs, indeed, to a considerably later date, and they are of decidedly later style than the coins presenting the free or half horse. The earliest are accompanied on the reverse sides with a quadriga and the inscription *Ziz* (Pl. VII. fig. 2), or by a horse in front of a palm-tree without any legend (Pl. VI. fig. 11).

The quadriga types with which Evænetos' Korê is coupled on the Carthaginian coins of Sicily are generally borrowed from those of Evænetos, and a good example of an imitation of the most sensational chariot group of that artist on a coin of Hêrakteia Minoa (*Rash Melkart*) will be seen on Pl. VII., fig. 13. At times the head of the young Goddess on those Punic pieces is accompanied by symbols, such as the cockle-shell and the griffin's head, that are associated with it on the Syracusan medallions; at times it is coupled with a *caduceus*,<sup>49</sup> a *thymiatêrion*, or a poppy-head, and on one very beautiful type<sup>50</sup> (Pl. VII.

<sup>49</sup> The symbol of *Taut-Cadmus*, the Egyptian *Thoth*, assimilated to *Hermês*. Cf. Müller, *Num. de l'anc. Afr.* ii. p. 34.

<sup>50</sup> This coin, which appears to be unique, was recently obtained by me in Eastern Sicily. The same symbol, however, is also found on another variety (*B. M. Cat., Sicily*, p. 248, No. 12) behind the head of *Persephonê*. This, like the other piece, is inscribed *Ziz*, and must probably be assigned to *Panormos*.

fig. 4) a *swastika* is placed in front of her lips.<sup>51</sup> This coin, which bears the inscription *Ziz* beneath the quadriga on the reverse, must probably be ascribed to Panormos, and the introduction of the *swastika* links it on to earlier coins of that city, in which the same symbol is placed beside an earlier female head, whether of Nymph or Goddess. At Eryx this *crux gammata* seems to be associated with the cult of her Aphroditê. The ⚡, which seems to be the special symbol of Baal-Chamman, also occurs, but it is only found coupled with the head which is crowned with ears of barley<sup>52</sup> in place of the green spray, and which, perhaps, therefore represents Dêmêtêr.

Of the Carthaginian "Camp coins" with the head of Evænetos' Korê, some of those presenting a horse's head on the reverse are unquestionably the latest, for they fit on to the tetradrachms bearing the Alexandrine type of the head of Hêrakilês or Melkart. It thus appears that the imitation of Evænetos' type by the Punic moneyers of Sicily continued till at least as late as 330 B.C.

From the Camp pieces struck by the Carthaginians in Sicily for their mercenaries and dependents in the island, Evænetos' famous type spread in a modified form to Carthage herself. In this case, on some of the Siculo-Punic coins already referred to, and notably the early gold staters with the free horse, the Goddess is represented rather under the aspect of the Mother than of the Daughter, with the ears of ripened corn in place of the green barley spray of spring. (Pl. VII., fig. 5.)

The type, thus derived, becomes, from the middle of the Fourth Century onwards, the unvarying badge of the

<sup>51</sup> It is seen above the hound on the reverse of some small silver coins of Eryx (*B. M. Cat. Eryx*, Nos. 10-12).

<sup>52</sup> *E.g.* Müller, *op. cit.* ii. p. 77, No. 32.

Carthaginian coinage in all metals.<sup>53</sup> As compared with the earlier Siculo-Punic copies of Evænetos' Korê, the style of these coins is hard and mechanical, but some elements in the original design, such as the curving barley-leaf that shoots across the hair, are curiously persistent, and the Gaulish tribes, with whom the gold and electrum staters of Carthage must have gained a considerable currency, seem to have incorporated this horn-like appendage as a decorative adjunct to more than one of their hybrid coin-types. It is to this source that we may venture to trace the curious ornament that crosses the locks of the composite head on the gold and electrum pieces of Belgic Gaul, and the final degeneration of which may be surveyed on the Ancient British coin-types.<sup>54</sup>

The long supremacy of Evænetos' design at Syracuse itself is shown by its imitation on a whole series of later issues. Not to speak of its appearance on some small copper coins,<sup>55</sup> with Pegasos on the reverse, struck about Timoleôn's time, it was revived, in a fine style for the period, on the tetradrachms struck in the earlier

<sup>53</sup> See Ludwig Müller, *Num. de l'Afrique Ancienne*, vol. ii. p. 84—115.

<sup>54</sup> The source of this is most clearly seen in some hybrid gold coins found in Picardy (*Rev. Num.* 1888, Pl. I. figs. 1, 2), the reverse types of which, as has been recognized by M. Anatole de Barthélemy (*op. cit.* p. 8) are imitated from gold staters of Tarentum. The head is in this case combined in a remarkable way with a prancing horse, more suggestive of the silver types of Carthage. These coins seem to me to supply the missing link between the curious hair ornament of the characteristic Belgic types and the curling barley-leaf of the Carthaginian staters. My Father (*Coins of the Ancient Britons*, Supplement, p. 424) has not seen his way to adopt this suggestion; it has, however, been approved by Mr. Head (*Num. Chron.*, 1890, p. 331).

<sup>55</sup> Head, *Coins of Syracuse*, p. 31, Pl. VI.

years of Agathoklês' reign (Pl. VI. fig. 2), in this instance coupled with a reverse type borrowed from Kimôn's "medallions."<sup>56</sup> On the later coins of Agathoklês it is succeeded by the new and more youthful presentment of the Maiden Goddess, bearing the inscription **KOPA** behind her head,<sup>57</sup> but, in spite of her flowing tresses, the influence of the older design is still perceptible. Once more, upon the gold staters of Hiketas (287—278 B.C.) Evænetos' type was again elaborately copied (Pl. VI. fig. 3),<sup>58</sup> though the ear of barley that here shoots forth from the wreath seems more appropriate to Dêmêtêr than to her daughter; and it appears at Syracuse for the last time on some bronze pieces of Hierôn II. (B.C. 275—216).<sup>59</sup>

The appearance of a head of Korê, in its essential lines identical with Evænetos' design, but in a bolder style in harmony with the art traditions of Greece proper, on didrachms of the Opuntian Locrians<sup>60</sup> (Pl. VI. figs. 1, 2),

<sup>56</sup> Head, *Coins of Syracuse*, p. 43, Pl. VIII. 4.

<sup>57</sup> *Op. cit.*, Pl. IX. 1, 2.

<sup>58</sup> *Op. cit.*, Pl. X. 1, 2.

<sup>59</sup> *Op. cit.*, Pl. XII. 6.

<sup>60</sup> Mr. Head (*B. M. Cat., Central Greece*, p. xv.) says of the coinage of Opus, that "we may rest assured that it is all subsequent to the Peace of Antalkidas (B.C. 387)," and he refers the introduction of the types with the head of Persephonê to the year 369, in which year Dionysios took part in the Peace Congress that met at Delphi. It is to the same, or the succeeding year, which marks the restoration of the Messenians, that the issue of the Messenian didrachm with a similar head of Korê must unquestionably be referred (cf. Gardner, *B. M. Cat., Peloponnese*, p. xliii.). That these pieces mark the date of the restoration of the Messenians and the foundation of Messene by Epaminondas may be admitted. On the other hand, the intervention of Dionysios in the affairs of the mother-country had been consistently pro-Spartan. It is possible, therefore, that the adoption of Evænetos' type, to illustrate the old Messenian cult of Persephonê on the coins of the newly founded city, may, after all, be a purely artistic tribute.

eneates<sup>61</sup> (Pl. VI. fig. 4), and Messenians<sup>62</sup> (Pl. VI. fig. 3), is a striking witness to its early popularity. It is to be observed in this connexion that a further numismatic link between these Opuntian dies and those of the Syracusan engravers is to be found in the figure of Ajax, which accompanies the reverse of the type in question, and which unmistakeably corresponds with the Leukaspis as he appears on some Syracusan drachmæ executed by the earlier master Eumenês<sup>63</sup> and, with some variations, by his pupil, Eukleidas.<sup>64</sup>

Evænetos' head of Persephonê is found about the same date on coins of Pheræ in Thessaly and Knôssos in Crete. In Sicily itself a fine reproduction of it occurs on the large bronze pieces of Kentoripa (Pl. VI. fig. 4), where the types are overstruck on Syracusan coins representing a head of Pallas.<sup>65</sup> The pard on the reverse of this Kentoripan coin is also a very beautiful work.

On the mainland of Italy the Korê of the Syracusan master seems to have affected more than one of the beautiful didrachm types of Metapontion; sometimes with the addition of the ear of corn and the diaphanous Tarentine veil, making the form of Dêmêtêr;<sup>66</sup> sometimes in her own person as the Daughter, though here with more flowing hair, as

<sup>61</sup> *B. M. Cat., Peloponnese*, Pl. XXXV. 7; Gardner, *Types of Greek Coins*, Pl. VIII. 41, and p. 155.

<sup>62</sup> *B. M. Cat., Peloponnese*, Pl. XXI. 1.

<sup>63</sup> *B. M. Cat.*, No. 162; Head, *Coins of Syracuse*, Pl. III. 15; Veil, *Künstlerinschriften*, &c., Taf. i. 3.

<sup>64</sup> *B. M. Cat.*, Nos. 226—230; Head, *op. cit.*, Pl. V. 6.

<sup>65</sup> Head, *Coins of Syracuse*, Pl. VIII. 1. I have elsewhere (p. 363) pointed out that this type is considerably earlier than Timoleôn's time.

<sup>66</sup> Carelli, *Num. Ital. Vet.*, T. clii. 69, 70, 73, &c. Cf. Garucci, *Le Monete d'Italia Antica*, T. ciii. 5.

on the later Syracusan version cited above.<sup>67</sup> On the Third Century didrachms of Arpi, in Apulia, it is more literally reproduced,<sup>68</sup> though probably from an Agathokleian copy.

At Massalia Evænetos' masterpiece stood as the model for the fine head of Artemis upon its drachms (Pl. VI. fig. 8)<sup>69</sup> struck about the middle of the Fourth Century B.C., though here an olive-wreath takes the place of the barley. In a more literal guise it passed to the coin-types of the daughter colony, Rhoda, on the Pyrenean coast of Spain (Pl. VI. fig. 9),<sup>70</sup> and, perhaps through a Siculo-Punic intermediary, to those of the sister colony of Emporiæ (Pl. VI. fig. 10).<sup>71</sup> From these Greek plantations of the "Spanish March" the type was received and reproduced by the neighbouring Iberic and Gaulish tribes of Aquitania<sup>72</sup> in a series of imitations, each more barbarous than the last, and, passing thence in a half-dissected form

<sup>67</sup> Carelli, *Num. Ital. Vet.*, clii. 74, 81, &c. Cf. Garrucci, *Le Monete d'Italia Antica*, T. ciii. 21, &c.

<sup>68</sup> Carelli, *op. cit.*, xc. 1—8; Garrucci, *op. cit.*, xciii. 1.

<sup>69</sup> Cf. De la Saussaye, *Numismatique de la Gaule Narbonnaise*, Pl. II. 54—57, &c.

<sup>70</sup> Heiss, *Monnaies Antiques de l'Espagne*, Pl. I., Rhoda, 1—8.

<sup>71</sup> Duc de Luynes, *Rev. Num.* 1840, 5 *seqq.*; Heiss, *Monnaies Antiques de l'Espagne*, Pl. I., Emporia, 1—10.

<sup>72</sup> Cf. De Sauley, *Rev. Num.* iv. 1867, p. 1 *seqq.*; De la Saussaye:—*Monnaies épigraphiques des Volces Tectosages* (*Rev. Num.* 1866, p. 389—401); Maxe-Werly, *Rev. Num.* 1886, p. 1 *seqq.* ("Petrocorii," &c.), and *Rev. Belge de Num.* 1879, p. 248 *seqq.* ("Trouville de Cuzance," &c., "Cndurci"); E. Hucher, *L'Art Gaulois*, Pt. II. p. 31, &c. The evolution of these types in their Northern and Western progress is a curious study, but it cannot here be followed out in detail. I regard the triple crest above the head on so many Armorican coins by Hucher, fantastically connected with Ogmios, as ultimately due to the locks and sprays of the Syracusan Korê, introduced North of the Pyrenees principally by the Rhodan currency. For good intermediate examples compare the coins of the Petrocorii and Volcæ Tectosages.



through Quercy and Perigord to the Limousin, supplied some characteristic elements to the coin-types of the North and West. The curving barley-sprays above the forehead and twined amidst the tresses of our Persephonê, the twin fishes in front of her lips, were drawn out into fantastic crests and scrolls upon the coin-types of Armorica, and the remote descendants of the dolphins that once sported in the Great Harbour of Syracuse were finally stranded upon the Western shores of our own Island. Upon some late British silver-types<sup>73</sup> of the First Century of our era, the range of which extends from Plymouth to Tewkesbury and Oxford, they may still be traced before a grotesque profile which may well be taken to represent the extreme link of the chain that leads back to the masterpiece of Evænetos, and through him to the beautiful creation of the New Engraver.

A more purely artistic tribute to the abiding popularity of Evænetos' head of Persephonê, as she appears on his "medallions," is supplied from a source to which we should otherwise hardly look for numismatic illustration. A reduced copy, namely, of this head of Korê, appears on a series of *kylikes*, of a thin black-coloured pottery, with a lustrous metallic glaze, belonging to a well-marked class of ceramic ware intended to imitate silver vessels. The fabric of this class of pottery seems to have attained considerable dimensions in Sicily and Great Greece in the Third Century B.C.;<sup>74</sup> the shallow two-handled bowls in

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<sup>73</sup> J. Evans, *Coins of the Ancient Britons*, Pl. F. 4—8; and cf. p. 106.

<sup>74</sup> Some are probably earlier. I recently obtained at Catania, for the Ashmolean Museum, an *askos* or *guttus* of this ware, with a head, perhaps of Apollo, in a Late Transitional style of art. Even supposing the stamp to have been taken from earlier work, such a Transitional model would hardly have been

which the head of Evænetos' Persephonê forms the central relief, was, however, a specially Campanian fabric, and all the examples known to me, of which the exact find-spot was recorded, were found in the neighbourhood of Capua. The central relief of these *kylikes* has a distinct margin, and bears evidence of having been inserted after the cup itself was turned. The impression had therefore been first produced on a separate clay disk. And as no doubt a clay stamp was used like that from the Castellani Collection in the British Museum for a similar purpose, a double shrinkage in the design was the result, produced, first, by the drying of the original stamp, and secondly, by the drying of its impression on the clay disk. In this way the "medallion" reliefs, as seen upon the cups, have lost about a third of their diameter, and give the idea of tetradrachms, of which no examples with Evænetos' Korê head are known, rather than of dekadrachms.

That the original stamp was actually moulded on Evænetos' "medallions" there can, however, in spite of this apparent discrepancy in module, be no doubt. Although from the imperfect character of the clay impressions much of the delicate engraving is lost, enough remains to show

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selected in the Third Century. The prototype of this looks as if it had been a Leontine coin of abnormal module. Unfortunately, however, no Sicilian coins of such calibre are known to us. Silver *kylikes*, analogous to those imitated, but without the central medallion, have been found in Pantikapæan tombs of the Fourth Century B.C. A silver bowl, with a beautiful medallion relief of a Mænad in the centre, of Hellenistic work, was recently found at Taranto, though, with the exception of the central relief (now in Dr. J. Evans's collection), it crumbled to dust, owing to the thinness of the plate. A silver prototype of the well-known Cales-ware bowls, with chariot-racing scenes, is in the British Museum. Mr. C. Smith regards it as of Campanian fabric of the Third Century B.C.

that the stamp was taken from the coins themselves, and not from any Third Century copies or reductions. The whole expression of the face, as much as the arrangement of the hair, shows that we have to do, in a doubly reflected form, it is true, with the actual handiwork of Evænetos. As a matter of fact an examination of these *kylikes* has enabled me to detect three variations of the dekadrachm designs of this artist, in some cases, moreover, authenticated by traces of his signature.<sup>75</sup>

The varieties used are:—

1. The dekadrachm represented on Pl. V. fig. 11, with the  $\Delta$  in the field beneath the chin of Persephonê, the dekadrachm mark being well preserved. On one of these impressions the signature [E]YAINÊ is clearly visible.<sup>76</sup>
2. The dekadrachm, Pl. V. fig. 10, without the  $\Delta$  but with a cockle-shell behind the head.<sup>77</sup>
3. Without symbol or letter (cf., Pl. V. fig. 12). On an impression of this type traces of the letters EYAI... are visible.<sup>78</sup>

<sup>75</sup> In the same way the signature of Eukleidas may be traced on the helmet of a three-quarter facing head of Pallas on a paste disk in the British Museum taken from a mould of his celebrated tetradrachm. This disk was no doubt intended to be attached to the centre of a glass vessel in the same manner as the clay disks with Evænetos' design. It may be observed in this connexion that glass imitations of metallic forms are not infrequent.

<sup>76</sup> Two examples of *kylikes* with this "medallion" type are in the Ashmolean Museum, both found at or near Capua. That with the signature was presented by the Rev. G. J. Chester, the other is from the Fortnum Collection.

<sup>77</sup> One example from Capua is in the Ashm. Mus.; another, the source of which is not indicated, in the Brit. Mus.; a third (Campana Collection "S. Italy") in the Louvre; a fourth is in the possession of Messrs. Rollin and Feuardent at Paris.

<sup>78</sup> In the British Museum.

There is besides a class of *kylikes* with very barbarous imitations of the central medallion.<sup>79</sup>

This interesting ceramic class, in which both the form, the central design, and the metallic lustre are imitated from silver work, presupposes the existence of a special class of ancient silver vessels of the kind, with actual medallions of Evænetos inserted in their central ornament; just as Imperial *aurei* are seen set round the famous *patera* of Rennes, or, to take a more modern example, we may see a crown-piece of Charles II. inserted in the middle of a punch-bowl. These Capuan *kylikes*, in short, represented a cheap popular substitute for what was evidently a famous and highly-prized form of Syracusan plate.

And in view of this special association of Evænetos "medallions" with silversmith's work, we are tempted to make the further suggestion that Evænetos himself also practised the toreutic art. Considering, indeed, the natural combination of the two crafts in ancient and mediæval times, nothing can be more reasonable than to suppose that his ἀργυροκοπεῖον, like those of Antioch, frequented by Antiochos Epiphanês,<sup>80</sup> was in close connexion with a gold or silversmith's shop, and gave employment to *toreutæ* as well as die-sinkers. The gaps in the numismatic records of Evænetos' career clearly show that his activity was also occupied in other artistic directions.

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<sup>79</sup> Two examples, both from Capua, are in the Ashm. Mus., another from a different stamp in the Louvre.

<sup>80</sup> *Athenæos*, lib. x. (on the authority of Polybios, *Hist. Reliq.* lib. xxvi. c. 7, 8). Cf. my *Horsemen of Tarentum* (London, Quaritch, 1889, p. 120 *seqq.*), where I have endeavoured to show that the ancient die-sinkers signed not only as artists, but in their quality of moneyers, and combined besides the kindred crafts of *ροευτής* and *χρυσόχοος*. The term ἀργυροκόπος seems to mean "silversmith" in general as well as "moneyer."

That Evænetos, as seems fairly ascertained in the case of his fellow die-sinker Phrygillos, also exercised the profession of a gem-engraver is made highly probable from the microscopic fineness that characterizes some of his earlier dies. Mr. Head,<sup>81</sup> indeed, remarks of Evænetos that "his work is characterized by an almost gem-like minuteness, which approaches to hardness." In surveying his designs we are often conscious of a hand somewhat over-familiar with the use of the diamond point. It seems possible, indeed, that an actual example of a gem engraved by this artist has survived to our day. A gold ring containing an exquisitely-engraved sard was recently discovered in the neighbourhood of Catania, and though the ignorant peasant who wished to realise the gold-value of the ring, and thought the stone of little value, broke it in two in tearing it from its socket, the intaglio, which has been preserved by a happy accident, has not suffered in any essential particular. The design, of which a phototype is given on Pl. V. fig. 5, represents Heraklê's strangling the Nemean lion, and it will be seen to be almost identical in the minutest details with the reverse of Evænetos' gold hundred-litra piece placed next it on the plate. It is true that the same design, executed in an almost identical manner, occurs on the parallel gold staters from the hand of Kimôn, but a comparison between the impression of the gem on Pl. V., fig. 5, with the reverse of fig. 1, seems to show that the nearest correspondence in style is found with the work of Evænetos.

The only important point in which the design on the gem differs from the coins is, that here the struggling figures rest on a simple line, whereas on the coin-dies

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<sup>81</sup> *Coins of Syracuse*, p. 22.

some indication of rocks, and, in one instance, of an ear of corn, is given below.

The style of workmanship on the gem is such as enables us to refer it to the close of the Fifth or the beginning of the Fourth Century B.C. The material, a brilliant sard, is worthy of the best days of Greek gem engraving; and the bold, though somewhat shallow, intaglio quite agrees with this conclusion. The relief on the coin is proportionally somewhat higher than that on the impression from the gem, a relative proportion generally maintained in contemporary works in the two materials belonging to this age. The softer material of the die as compared with the stone seems to have tempted deeper incision; but in other respects the technique is strikingly similar. We see in the gem, as in the die, the same firm, sure incision of a master of the glyptic art; and in the design itself, the same unique combination of the utmost delicacy of detail with the full expression of the mighty forces pitted against each other in the struggling group of hero and lion.

The correspondence between the design on the signet and that on the coins places this intaglio in a rare, but well-marked class of ancient gems which reproduce civic badges, and which undoubtedly were used by officers of the State to seal public Acts. On the present occasion it is impossible to do more than to call attention to the existence of this special class of gems, which well deserve a separate treatise.

It may be sufficient here to notice that several examples of these civic signets are forthcoming engraved with the same official types that reappear on the coinage of Greek cities of Sicily, and of Great Greece. One of the most important of these, recently obtained by me from Sicily,

represents the *protomé* of the man-faced bull of Gela, its body countermarked by a Corinthian helmet which was evidently a magistrate's symbol;<sup>82</sup> and a cut scarab in the British Museum displays the legend ΓΕΛΛΕ above a man-headed bull between a flower and star, with a snake below.<sup>83</sup> Another gem in the British Museum recalls the Nymph and swan of the early coins of Kamarina. At Selinûs we have the evidence of the existence of similar signets in some remarkable clay impressions found in Temple C. of the Acropolis.<sup>84</sup> One of the two most numerous reproduced of the seals represented in this deposit exhibits the type of Hêraklês struggling with the tauriform River-God, which, in an earlier guise, is found upon the didrachms of Selinûs, and the civic and official character of the signet gem—*δημοσιὰ σφραγίς*—was in this case further authenticated by a large Σ in

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<sup>82</sup> A phototype of this gem is published in Imhoof-Blumer und Otto Keller, *Tier- und Pflanzenbilder auf Münzen und Gemmen* (Taf. xxvi. 45), with the remark: "Schöner Stil. Wahrscheinlich das Siegel eines griechischen Ritters der besten Zeit." Owing to some misunderstanding of the account supplied by me it is here described as from "Tarentum." I obtained it, however, from Sicily, which makes it the more improbable that it was a private seal. From Salona, in Dalmatia, I have a cornelian gem with the Knidian Aphrodîtê and the legend ΚΟΡΙΝΘΙΟΥ, evidently a Corinthian official seal.

<sup>83</sup> *B. M. Cat. of Gems*, 444; and cf. Imhoof-Blumer und Keller, *op. cit.*, Taf. xxvi. 47.

<sup>84</sup> They have been published by Prof. Salinas in the *Notizie degli Scavi* (1888, p. 281 *seqq.*, and Tav. vii., xv.), and are preserved in the Museum of Palermo. Six hundred and forty-three were found in all. The type of Hêraklês and the bull was reproduced 119 times, often countermarked with other smaller signets. Another official seal, representing a dolphin and club, appears 285 times. It is evident that the seals found in this deposit came from official documents preserved in the Temple archives.

the field. In Italy the coin-types of Neapolis<sup>85</sup> and Thurii<sup>86</sup> have been preserved on existing intaglios.

It is impossible to suppose that any private person could have made use of such well-known civic badges. Such gems were obviously executed solely for official purposes, and it is reasonable to infer that the same artists who executed the dies of the civic coinage were also employed to engrave these civic seals. When, therefore, we find Evænetos signing the dies associated with this fine design of Hêraklês strangling the lion we have every reason to infer, apart from the singular correspondence of the style and workmanship, that this artist was also the engraver of the signet gem presenting the same official type. The fact that it was found in the neighbourhood of Katanê, a scene of Evænetos' activity as a die-sinker, is certainly not inconsistent with this conclusion.

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<sup>85</sup> In the British Museum ; and cf. Imhoof-Blumer und Keller, *op. cit.*, Taf. xxvi. 46.

<sup>86</sup> A perforated chalcedony gem in a private collection at Ruvo, in Apulia, of fine Greek workmanship, presents a most striking resemblance to the bull as it appears on Thurian tetradrachms of the first half of the Fourth Century, B.C.



## PART VI.

### THE HISTORICAL OCCASIONS OF THE *DÁMARE-TEION* AND THE LATER "MEDALLIONS."

THE general conclusion derived from various lines of converging evidence, to which we have been led in the preceding Sections, that the earliest of the Syracusan "medallions" date back to the years immediately succeeding the approximate date of 415 B.C., leads us to an interesting point in our inquiry.

As long as it was believed, as it has been hitherto, that the first issue of these magnificent coins fell within the limits of the Dionysian Period, the precise historic occasion of this exceptional issue might remain in doubt.

Signor Cavallari, indeed, has recently put forward the suggestion<sup>1</sup> that the head on Kimôn's dekadrachms is that of the Nymph Kyanê, and that these coins record the defeat inflicted on the Carthaginians in 394 B.C. by Dionysios in the neighbourhood of her shrine, which had been chosen by him as his headquarters.

The mere fact, however, that the "medallions" of Kimôn, here specially referred to, were imitated on a series of Motyan types, some of them, at least, struck several years before the overthrow of that city by Dionysios in 397, is sufficient to exclude a reference to the

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<sup>1</sup> In his account, published at Palermo, of the recently discovered shrine of Kyanê.

disaster that befell the Carthaginian host before Syracuse three years after that date. And when we are led back by a comparative study of the Syracusan and other types to seek the date of the first issue of these famous pieces, between the approximate dates 415—410 B.C., it becomes impossible not to connect them with the great historical event which marks that very period of years, the final overthrow, namely, of the Athenian invaders in 413 B.C., by sea on the waters of the Great Harbour, and by land in the gorge of the Assinaros.

That the crowning victory over the Athenians should have found a record on the Syracusan coin-types, at least in that indirect and allusive manner that was usual in the best days of Greek art, is rendered probable by more than one precedent. The abnormal size and value of these noble "medallions," warrants us in supposing that they were struck on some extraordinary occasion. But this presumption gains additional weight when it is remembered that coins of the same exceptional value of fifty silver litras had been struck two generations earlier, on the occasion of another crowning triumph of the Syracusan arms—the victory, namely, of Gelôn in alliance with Thêrôn of Akragas over the Carthaginian Hamilkar at Himera.

These coins, which derived their name of *Damareteia* from Gelôn's consort, require special consideration from their intimate connexion with our present subject, though the inquiry is involved in considerable difficulty from the fact that accounts differ as to their exact source and occasion.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> For the *Δαμαρέτεια*, see especially Leake (*Trans. of R. Soc. of Lit.*, 2nd series, 1850, p. 288) and the monograph of F. Hultsch, *De Damareteo argenteo Syracusanorum Nummo*

According to the later grammarians, Hesychios,<sup>3</sup> and Pollux,<sup>4</sup> these memorial coins were struck out of the bullion derived from the jewellery which Dāmaretâ and other noble ladies of Syracuse had given up to provide the sinews of war at a moment when the treasury was exhausted through the struggle with Carthage. In this case the coins themselves, struck from gold jewellery in a moment of emergency, must have been of gold, and both Pollux and Hesychios imply that they were such. This statement, however, contains one radical error of fact, since the coins themselves—a few examples of which have come down to us—were undoubtedly of silver: indeed, no Syracusan gold coin seems to have been struck till about the time of the Athenian siege. Diodôros,<sup>5</sup> on the

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(Dresden, 1862). Cf. too his *Gr. und röm. Metrologie* (2nd ed. Berlin, 1882, p. 438). The fact that the *Dāmareteion* must be sought in a silver coin was first pointed out by C. O. Müller, *Die Etrusker*, i. 397 (and cf. *Annali dell' Inst. di Corr. Arch.*, 1830, p. 337); and the Duc de Luynes, *Ann. dell' Inst.*, &c. 1830, p. 81 *seqq.* (*Du Démarétion*), who first distinguished the true *Dāmareteion* of Gelôn's time from the later *Pentêkontalitron* of the Dionysian Period. Cf. Mommsen, *Röm. Münzwesen*, 79 (trad. Blacas I., 105); F. Lenormant, *Rev. Num.*, 1868, p. 9 *seqq.*; Head, *Coinage of Syracuse*, p. 8. Böckh, *Staatshaushaltung der Athener* (3rd ed., p. 36), followed earlier writers in regarding the *Dāmareteion* as a gold coin.

<sup>3</sup> S.v. Δημαρέτιον. "Δημαρέτιον, νόμισμα ἐν Σικελίᾳ ὑπὸ Γέλωνος κοπὲν, ἐπιδούσης αὐτῷ Δημαρέτης τῆς γυναικὸς εἰς αὐτὸ τὸν κόσμον."

<sup>4</sup> *Onomasticon*, lib. ix. 85. "Ἡ Δημαρέτῃ Γέλωνος οὖσα γυνή, κατὰ τὸν πρὸς Λίβυας πόλεμον ἀποροῦντος αὐτοῦ, τὸν κόσμον αἰτησαμένη παρὰ τῶν γυναικῶν συγχωρεῦσασα νόμισμα ἐκόψατο Δαμαρέτιον." Pollux couples it with gold staters.

<sup>5</sup> Lib. xi. c. 26:—"Στέφανον χρυσοῦν τῇ γυναικὶ τοῦ Γέλωνος Δαμαρέτῃ προσωμολόγησαν. αὕτη γὰρ ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀξιωθείσα συνήργησε πλείστον εἰς τὴν σύνθεσιν τῆς ἐιρήνης, καὶ στεφανωθείσα ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἑκατὸν ταλάντοις χρυσοῦ, νόμισμα ἐξέκοψε, τὸ κληθὲν ἀπ' ἐκείνης Δαμαρέτειον· τοῦτο δ' εἶχεν Ἀττικὰς δραχμὰς δέκα, ἐκλήθη δὲ παρὰ τοῖς Σικελιώταις ἀπὸ τοῦ σταθμοῦ πεντηκοντάλιτρον."

other hand, describes the *Dâmareteia* as having been struck out of the money value of a hundred talents derived from the gold crown presented by the Carthaginians to Dâmaretâ in return for her good offices in securing them more favourable conditions of peace than they had otherwise expected. His additional statement that the coin "weighed<sup>6</sup> ten Attic drachmæ and was called a fifty-litra piece (πεντηκοντάλιτρον) by the Sicilian Greeks from its weight," shows that he rightly regarded it as a silver coin.

"Talent" is, unfortunately, almost always a vague denomination, but according to the generally accepted interpretation of the passage in Diodôros,<sup>7</sup> the hundred talents of gold mentioned as the value of the honorary crown, are taken to mean the small Attic talents of six gold drachmæ, or three staters, which, reckoning the proportion of gold to silver at that time as 13 to 1, would represent the equivalent of 7,800 silver drachmæ. In that case no more than 780 of these silver dekadrachms could have been struck, and even allowing for the great rarity of the pieces in question, this number must be regarded as too small for a special coinage which left such a mark in history.

It seems much more reasonable to suppose that the talents referred to by Diodôros were Sicilian gold talents

<sup>6</sup> For this force of ἔχειν = *to weigh*, see Hultsch, *op. cit.*, p. 18, who cites Thucydides (lib. ii., 18, 5), Diodôros himself (lib. ii., c. 9), and the usage of Greek metrological writers. He adds: "Diodorus igitur cum εἶχεν Ἀττικὰς δραχμὰς δέκα scripsit, nihil nisi pondus significare voluit: quasi vero animo præsensisset non defuturos esse qui minus recte id intellegerent addidit verba: ἐκλήθη δὲ παρὰ τοῖς Σικελιώταις ἀπὸ τοῦ σταθμοῦ πεντηκοντάλιτρον, quibus idem quod modo Attico pondere expresserit jam Siculorum pondere enuntiat."

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Hultsch, *Metrologie* (1882), p. 129 *seqq.*, and p. 483.

representing 120 gold litras, just as the Sicilian silver talent represented 120 litras of silver.<sup>8</sup> The wreath would thus furnish the more respectable sum of 2,400 gold drachmæ, answering in silver to 3,120 *pentêkontalitra*.

That the honorary crown sent by the Carthaginians to Dâmaretâ represented a substantial amount of bullion is made probable not only from the fact that silver sufficient for a special coinage was purchased from the gold that it produced, but from the analogy of other Punic crowns of the same class of which we have historic record. The gold crown, for example, offered by the Carthaginians in the temple of the Capitoline Jove in B.C. 341 (A.U.C. 413) weighed 25 lbs., or 1,875 Attic drachmæ.<sup>9</sup> Another, in the Temple of Jupiter in Tarraco, weighed 15 lbs. The crowns offered in later times by the Greek princes and cities to the Romans also afford a good parallel to the gift to Dâmaretâ, for their primary object was to give a graceful form to the presentation of a solid sum of money. Eumenês of Pergamos, for instance, sent the Romans a crown of "15,000 gold drachmæ" (*χρυσῶν*).<sup>10</sup> Examples

<sup>8</sup> Hultsch (*De Damareteio*) assumes that the Sicilian gold talent would be simply the equivalent in gold of the silver talent. Taking, then, the proportionate value of gold to silver as 12 to 1, he arrives at the conclusion that the Sicilian gold talent (= 120 silver litras or 12 silver staters) was exactly the gold stater. But inasmuch as at a somewhat later period, when the Sicilian gold coinage begins, we find gold litras actually struck (cf. p. 267), it seems preferable to believe that 120 gold litras went to make up the gold talent. I observe that Leake (*Trans. of R. Soc. of Lit.*, 2nd Series, 1850, p. 356) had arrived at the same conclusion to which I had independently been led.

<sup>9</sup> Livy, vii., 38.

<sup>10</sup> Polybios, *Hist.* xxiv., 1, 7. More obscurity attaches to the contemporary wreath presented by the Ætolians to the Roman Consul at the time of their submission. Polybios (xxii. 13), after mentioning, a few paragraphs before, that 200 Euboic

like these seem more pertinent than the votive wreaths set up in the Akropolis of Athens,<sup>11</sup> in which taste supplied a larger ingredient than bullion, though even of one of these we read that it weighed as much as 1,250 gold drachmæ.

The issue of this Dâmareteian coinage must be taken in connexion with another contemporary act, the dedication, namely, by Gelôn and his brothers, of a gold tripod to the Delphian Apollo out of the Carthaginian spoils, according to one account partly out of the Dâmareteian gold itself.

Diodôros, after recording the conclusion of peace with the Carthaginians and the receipt by Dâmaretâ of the golden crown of a hundred talents, in addition to the war indemnity of two thousand talents, states that Gelôn "built out of the spoils of war two splendid temples dedicated to Dêmêtêr and Korê, and having made, with sixteen talents, a votive tripod, set it up as a thank-offering in the Temenos of Apollo at Delphi."<sup>12</sup> Simonidês of

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talents were to be paid as indemnity, adds: "ἑδόθη δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ στέφανος ἀπὸ ταλάντων πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν." This transaction appears in Livy (lib. xxviii., 9): "Ambracienses coronam auream Consuli centum et quinquaginta pondo," making the weight of the wreath 150 lbs. This, reckoning 75 to the pound, would represent 11,250 gold drachms, nearly a third less than the gold wreath presented by Eumenês. But Livy seems to have simply turned talents into pounds. According to Hultsch's view these talents can only be the small goldsmiths' talents of 6 drachmæ. In this way the weight of the crown would be reduced to 900 gold drachmæ—a paltry sum considering the high standard of value set by contemporary usage on such propitiatory gifts. Of the two versions, Livy's certainly seems nearer the mark. A wreath of Ptolemy Philadelphos' time is recorded to have weighed 10,000 gold staters.

<sup>11</sup> See Böckh. *Staatshaushaltung der Athener* (1886), i., p. 86 *seqq.* Many of the wreaths in the Akropolis weighed from 17½ to 100 drachms. Three gold wreaths dedicated to Athena weighed respectively 245 drachms 1 obol., 272 dr. 8½ ob., and 282 dr. 5 ob.

<sup>12</sup> Diodôros, lib. xi. c. 26. "Ὁ Γέλων ἐκ μὲν τῶν λαφύρων

Keos,<sup>13</sup> on the other hand, in the epigram said to have been inscribed on the tripod itself, makes it speak as follows:—

“Φαμί Γέλων’ Ἱέρωνα Πολύζηλον Θρασύβουλον  
 Παῖδας Δεινομένευσ τὸν τρίποδ’ ἀνθέμεναι  
 Ἐξ ἑκατὸν λιτρῶν καὶ πεντήκοντα ταλάντων  
 Δαμαρετίου χρυσοῦ, τᾶς δεκάτας δεκάταν,  
 Βάρβαρα νικάσαντας ἔθνη, πολλὰν δὲ παρασχεῖν  
 Σύμμαχον Ἑλλασιν χεῖρ’ ἐς ἐλευθερίαν.”

However we are to account for the discrepancy of our two informants as to the number of talents devoted to the gold tripod, the most ordinary common-sense must refuse to believe that this splendid offering, celebrated alike by poet and historian, of the Syracusan *Stratēgos Autokrator* and his brothers, weighed only 48 gold staters.<sup>14</sup> It is possible that Diodōros' 16 talents simply

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κατεσκεύασε ναοὺς ἀξιολόγους Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης, χρυσοῦν δὲ τρίποδα ποιήσας ἀπὸ ταλάντων ἑκκαίδεκα ἀνέθηκεν ἐς τὸ τέμενος τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς Ἀπόλλωνι.”

<sup>13</sup> Ep. cxcvi. Cf. Schol. ad Pind. *Pyth.* i., 155. Theopompos (Athen., vi., p. 231) mentions a gold Nikē, as well as a tripod, among the *Anathēmata* of Gelôn and Hierôn at Delphi. Dindorf, in his edition of Simonidēs (Brunswick, 1835, p. 184), dismisses the lines commemorating the weight of the tripod with the remark: “Est hic iterum fetus grammaticuli doctrinam numariam incommode ostentantis.” These lines, however, are as well authenticated as any in the epigram. They are given to the *Codex Palatinus* where the two last are omitted, and are referred to by Suidas (s.v. *Δαρετίον*, for *Δαμαρετίον*). Nor need the record of the value of the tripod, and the numismatic reference, at all surprise us when we find Simonidēs, in another epigram (clx.), giving the amount of Parian drachms that went to the making of a small votive image of Artemis, and accompanying it with a reference to the coin-type of Paros:—

“Ἀρτέμιδος τόδ’ ἄγαλμα · δικήσιοι γὰρ ὁ μισθὸς  
 Δραχμαὶ ταὶ Πάριαι, τῶν ἐπίσημα τράγος.”

<sup>14</sup> Yet such is Hultsch's conclusion in conformity with his view that the talents mentioned by Diodōros in the case of both wreath and tripod are the small goldsmith's talents of six

refer to Gelôn's contribution, and that the remaining 34 talents 100 litras represent the joint gift of the other three brothers. The total value of the tripod, according to the estimate of the Sicilian gold talent already given, would in that case be 1,220 gold drachmæ, amounting in weight to somewhat over 16 lbs.

That the tripod should be described as of Dâmareteian gold may perhaps be taken as a poetic licence, yet it serves to indicate the close connexion existing in men's minds between the votive *anathema* set up in the Delphic shrine of Apollo and the new commemorative coinage. Both the coins and the tripod were derived from the gifts or spoils of the vanquished; both alike were regarded as tokens of victory, and the coins themselves have preserved a symbol of dedication that makes it in the highest degree probable that they too, like the tripod, were in the first instance designed as offerings of thanksgiving—*χαριστήρια*—to the same God, in the one case to be devoted to his Delphian sanctuary, in the other, we may well believe, to the service of a local Syracusan festival in his honour. Upon the reverse of the Dâmareteion, beneath the usual agonistic type of the quadriga, is seen a couchant lion, the symbolic animal of Apollo, precisely as it appears associated with his head on contemporary coins of Leontini.<sup>15</sup> That the issue of these coins connected itself

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gold drachms. He endeavours to reconcile Diodôros' account with that of Simonidês by supposing that the latter refers to a Sicilian gold talent equal to the silver talent of 120 litras. This talent, according to his view, taking the relation of gold to silver as 12 to 1, amounted to one gold stater. Fifty talents and 100 litras would thus represent 101 Attic drachms, which would approximate to the 96 Attic drachms deduced by him from the 16 talents of Diodôros.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Head, *Historia Numorum*, p. 152.



with the celebration of games in Apollo's honour must be regarded therefore as unquestionable. From the great rarity of these early fifty-litra pieces we are tempted even to go a step farther, and to venture the suggestion that the coins themselves were in the first instance dedicated to the local shrine of Apollo, and that they may have served, like the Metapontine silver staters with the inscription *Ἀχελαιοι αἰθλων*,<sup>16</sup> as actual prizes in a contest held in his honour.



Fig. 9.—THE "DAMARETEION."

The specially commemorative character of this first "medallion" issue at Syracuse is of first-rate importance in its relation to the revival in the years immediately succeeding the Athenian siege of a fresh issue of the same denomination. But it is easy to cite other parallels which justify us in considering that such an event as the annihilation of the Athenian *Armada* would not be left uncommemorated on the Syracusan dies. Thus, for instance, the *Pistrix* beneath the chariot on certain coins of Hierôn I., with the allusion that it conveys to Poseidôn, has been reasonably taken to symbolize the great sea

<sup>16</sup> See below, p. 338.

victory over the Etruscans off Kymê in 474 B.C.,<sup>17</sup> once more, no doubt, in connexion with special hippic contests in honour of the God. The games instituted by Pyrrhos after the capture of Eryx as a tribute of devotion to Hêrakilês, the legendary slayer of its eponymous giant, seem to have left their mark on his Syracusan bronze pieces. At a slightly earlier date the victory of Agathoklês over the Carthaginians in Africa was commemorated both in his gold and silver coinage; in the former case under the guise of a tribute to Athênê,<sup>18</sup> in the latter case to Korê. The trophy of arms raised by Nikê on the reverse of the Agathokleian tetradrachm, in which the reference to the consecrated spoils of war is undoubted, recalls the arms exhibited on the steps beneath the victorious chariot on the dekadrachm types before us. And if, in the latter trophy, a Carthaginian characteristic has been detected in the conical form of the helmet,<sup>19</sup> the shield and helmet on our medallions show a marked resemblance to those of the prostrate warrior on the fine didrachm of Gela, which, according to Holm's probable hypothesis, commemorated the assistance rendered by the Gelôan cavalry to the Syracusans in their struggle with the Athenians.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Head, *Coins of Syracuse*, p. 9.

<sup>18</sup> Head, *Historia Numorum*, p. 159; cf. Diod. xxii. 11.

<sup>19</sup> Gardner, *Types of Greek Coins*, p. 184. "Victory is nailing to the frame a conical helmet in shape like that 'Tyrrhenian' helmet dedicated to Zeus by Hiero I." (See *B. M. Guide to Bronze Room*, p. 12.)

<sup>20</sup> Cited in Schubring. *Die Münzen von Gela; Berliner Blätter*, vi. p. 148. The engraver of this Gelan coin has been careful to indicate the difference between the helmet of the horseman, which is of a Phrygian character, and that of the prostrate enemy, which is provided with ear-pieces and a long crest like those in the exergue of the Syracusan dekadrachms. The shield is of absolutely the same shape.

That the revived issue of the Syracusan fifty-litra pieces, answering in their denomination to the earlier Dâmareteia, connects itself with the Syracusan triumph over the Athenians, is made the more probable by the appearance on some tetradrachms struck about the same date of an undoubted reference to the spoils of a naval victory. In the fine reverse design of certain tetradrachms from the hands of the artist Evarchidas, a variety of which occurred in the Santa Maria hoard, Professor Salinas has already recognised<sup>21</sup> an allusion to the defeat of the Athenian fleet in the Great Harbour of Syracuse, whether that of the beginning or of the autumn of 413 it might be difficult to determine. The obverse of this type displays a female head apparently representing Arethusa, and signed by the artist Phrygillos on the ampyx of her sphendonê. Upon the reverse Persephonê appears guiding with her left hand the reins of her galloping steeds, and in the other holding aloft a flaming torch in place of the usual goad of the charioteer, while Nikê, who flies forward to greet her, holds in her left hand the ἀφλαστον, or *aplustre*, the ornament of the poop of one of the captured vessels. The appearance of the Chthonic Goddess on this piece and the manner in which Nikê holds the naval trophy towards the burning torch may, perhaps, suggest a reference to a wholesale devotion of the spoils of war by fire to the deities of the Nether World, to which we find more than one reference in ancient writers.

Comparing these pieces that commemorate the naval victory with the dekadrachm types, we are struck with

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<sup>21</sup> *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1888, p. 15 *seqq.* Examples of these types are also given in my article on *New Artists' Signatures on Sicilian Coins*, Pl. XVIII., figs. 6, 7.

certain points of correspondence which can hardly be the result of accident. Here, too, we see alternately Persephonê and Arethusa taking the place of honour on the die. Here, too, on the reverse, beside the agonistic part of the design, is seen a trophy, this time of arms, and appropriate to victory on land. And if in the former case there seems good reason to connect the *aplustre* offered to the Nether Goddess with the maritime discomfiture of the Athenians, we are tempted to connect the consecrated prize of arms, symbolizing the guerdon of a contest held in the honour of a God, with that supreme triumph on the land side which consigned the remnant of the Athenian army to the quarries of Achradina.

The fact that the earlier *Dámareteia* were coined out of the money produced by a gold wreath, which, though presented to Gelôn's consort, was treated as being practically part of the spoils of war, and that they were probably partly supplied by the actual loot or indemnity, strongly favours the suggestion that the revived issue of these *pentékontalitra* may have been derived from a similar source.

We have, indeed, some historic warrant for believing that the "medallions" now struck were coined out of the silver poured into the Syracusan treasury by the successful issue of the war. There can be no doubt that, both by actual booty and the subsequent ransom of prisoners, a large amount of silver bullion fell into the hands of the Syracusans at the time of the Athenian overthrow. A very considerable sum of money was actually taken on the Athenian prisoners. Thus, Thucydides tells us that on the surrender of the 6,000 survivors of Demosthenes' division, four shields were filled with the silver money that

they carried on their persons.<sup>22</sup> But the forces of the retreating Athenians were estimated by the historian at 40,000, and assuming that even half of these were despoiled in the same manner by their conquerors, the total number of shields-full collected may well have exceeded a dozen. If we may judge from the capacity of the shields represented on the coins themselves, the cavities of which may be estimated at  $2\frac{1}{2}$  feet in breadth, and nearly a foot in central depth, the silver bullion obtained from this source alone must have amounted to a very considerable sum. From 'Thucydides' statement we may, perhaps, form the deduction that, for purposes of general security as well as of individual aid in a hazardous retreat, a large part of the military chest had been divided amongst the rank and file.

It is probable that a large part at least of this prize silver was actually consecrated, with the arms, to one or more tutelary divinities, and that it therefore could not be used for the ordinary purposes of the mint. But the existence of such a Sacred Fund would make it easy to understand how, on the institution of new games, such as followed the victory over the Athenians, an extraordinary coinage might be issued, having a special honorific function, in connexion with them.

According to this view the earlier, at least, of these fine pieces, inscribed ΑΘΛΑ, may have been coined of prize silver, and themselves, in part, have served to reward the winners in the games. In the case of many of these coins, however, this limitation cannot be considered tenable. The comparative abundance of the ordinary dekadrachm types,

<sup>22</sup> Thuc., lib. vii. 82. "Καὶ τὸ ἀργύριον ὃ εἶχον ἅπαν κατέθεσαν ἐσβαλόντες ἐς ἀσπίδας ὑπτίας, καὶ ἐνέπλησαν ἀσπίδας τέσσαρας."

and notably the prolific coinage of Evænetos, forbids us to regard them as having been exclusively devoted to the rewarding of the winners; and even if we extend their application to other expenses connected with the games, it will hardly sufficiently account for their wide-spread use. So much, however, it seems legitimate to infer from the character of the types, as well as from analogous usage, that their dates of issue corresponded with those of the periodic, perhaps annual, games. On the other hand, this does not exclude the possibility that some of the scarcer and more exceptional types may have been designed for more purely agonistic purposes. That the wreath and arms should have been here supplemented by a prize in money is in accordance with numerous analogies. We know that at Athens as much as five hundred drachmæ was given to citizens who returned victorious from the Olympic festival. In the military games at Keos, again, as already noticed, a prize of silver drachmæ was added to the prize of arms,<sup>23</sup> and there is evidence that in the case of local games, where such prize payments were constantly recurring, a special coinage was occasionally issued, no doubt from some temple treasury, to supply a type of money appropriate to the occasion. Of such, in early times, a memorable example is found in the Metapontine didrachms bearing the inscription, in archaic orthography, *Ἀχελαιοῖο αἰθλον*, and which doubtless celebrate the prize of a contest held on the banks of the Bradanos in honour of the Father of all Greek Rivers. In later times, as may be gathered both from inscriptions and from the types of several autonomous coins of Asia Minor, struck under the Roman Empire, this practice had gained a wide extension; these local coinages,

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<sup>23</sup> C. I. G., ii. 2360.

however, no doubt covering other expenses and necessities of commerce created by the festival, besides the actual payment to the winner.

It has, indeed, already been suggested by Eckhel<sup>24</sup> that the Syracusan dekadrachms inscribed ΑΘΛΑ, may have been struck as prize-money either for the purpose of rewarding victors in the games or in actual warfare, and that the inscription may therefore refer to the coin itself. The idea that they may represent the material reward of winners in the games has also commended itself to Hultsch.<sup>25</sup> The great rarity of what must be regarded as the earliest of these dekadrachm types, the coins, namely, engraved by Kimôn, with the head of Arethusa in low relief, is possibly to be explained on this hypothesis, while the fact that the newly-discovered type exists only in a single example points yet more strongly to this conclusion. In the case, again, of this unique medallion by the New Artist, the inscription ΑΘΛΑ on the reverse appears in letters of double the size and prominence of the ΞΥΡΑΚΟΞΙΩΝ on the obverse, and certainly looks as if it referred to the coin itself as an integral part of a sum of prize-money, quite as much as to the panoply represented below. The solitary occurrence of this type may also be explained on the hypothesis that it was specially coined to serve in a more exclusive sense than the ordinary dekadrachms, as part of the actual ΑΘΛΑ of a winner in a local ἀγὼν ἀργυρίτης. A limited issue of the same kind may further account for the fact that of the Akragantine dekadrachms only four specimens are known.

<sup>24</sup> *Doctrina Numorum*, i., p. xviii.; cf. p. 243. Eckhel is followed by Böckh, *Metrologische Untersuchungen*, p. 320.

<sup>25</sup> *De Damareteo*, &c., p. 27.

In the case of these latter coins, moreover, there is an epigraphic feature which may even turn out to stamp them as belonging to the same class of ΑΘΛΑ as the Syracusan example. This is the appearance immediately behind, and, indeed, almost in contiguity with, the head of the charioteer on the reverse of a large Α,<sup>26</sup> the purport of which has hitherto perplexed numismatists. By Von Sallet, Weil, and others, it has been taken to represent an artist's signature; but the position in which it occurs, and its solitary prominence in this position, does not by any means correspond to the usual methods and locations of signature amongst contemporary Sicilian engravers.<sup>27</sup> Its very distinct connexion with the charioteer has, indeed, been lately used as an argument by Dr. Kinch<sup>28</sup> in favour of his theory that all the signatures that at this time appear, refer not to the engravers of the dies, but to actual winners in the games. Dr. Kinch has failed to see the one unanswerable objection to his line of argument, namely, that the signature follows the style of engraving, and that whether, for instance, the name of Evænetos appears at Syracuse, at Kamarina, or at Katanê, it is always associated with the same individualities of handiwork. But the

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<sup>26</sup> See esp. Weil, *Künstlerinschriften*, &c., p. 13. All the known examples according to Weil are from the same reverse die. In Salinas' engraving (*Le Monete delle Antiche Città di Sicilia*, Tav. viii. 5, 6), the Α is not reproduced.

<sup>27</sup> All reverse signatures on Sicilian coins are either immediately above, upon, or below the exergual line, or in a tablet held by Victory. On the larger coins, with the exception of the doubtful instances of Hêrakteidas, there do not seem to be any single-letter signatures of artists even in this position. On the obverse the initial letter of Proklês appears in one instance on a Katanæan didrachm.

<sup>28</sup> *Observations sur les noms attribués aux Graveurs des Monnaies grecques* (*Revue Numismatique*, 1889, p. 473 seqq.).



solitary A on this Akragantine coin belongs, as already remarked, to a different category from such authenticated artists' signatures as those of Evānetos and his fellows, and there is in this instance this element of truth in Dr. Kinch's suggestion, that the inscribed letter is apparently intended to stand in very close relation to the winner of the chariot race. As a matter of fact, this solitary A appears as a stamp, the significance of which must have had a general acceptation, on a whole series of Sicilian coins struck about this period, but in nowise allied in point of style. Amongst the hundred-litra gold pieces of Syracuse already referred to,<sup>29</sup> with the\* head of Arethusa and Hêrklês strangling the lion, struck contemporaneously with the silver pentêkontalitra of Evānetos and Kimôn, and exhibiting in more or less abbreviated forms the names of both artists, the recent find at Avola, near Noto, has brought to light a variety, in which a conspicuous sideways-slanting A is introduced beneath the upright K, that here, no doubt, stands for Kimôn's signature.<sup>30</sup> On a drachm of Katania an A appears stamped sideways on the neck of a youthful head, perhaps of the local River-God Amenanos.<sup>31</sup> On two fine tetradrachms of Syracuse, again, belonging to the period which immediately precedes the appearance of recognised artists' signatures, an A is seen stamped in one instance on the upper part of the sakkos-covered head,<sup>32</sup> in the other case on the

<sup>29</sup> See p. 297.

<sup>30</sup> On other examples, KI is found. See p. 298.

<sup>31</sup> A. Löbbecke, *Zeitschr. f. Numismatik*, 1887, p. 86, and Taf. iii. 1. The head is there described as Apollo's, but the *temia* in place of laurel-wreath and the style of hair seem better to answer to the local types with the head of Amenanos.

<sup>32</sup> Kinch, *loc. cit.*, p. 409. In the Copenhagen Museum.

neck of the Nymph or Goddess just below the earring,<sup>33</sup> while on a third coin<sup>34</sup> it is seen on the front of the chariot on the reverse, a position which recalls the contiguity to the Akragantine charioteer. Finally, on some varieties of a late tetradrachm of Selinûs a large A appears in incuse upon the base that supports the statue of the bull.<sup>35</sup> It is, perhaps, a fair conjecture that in all these cases the A thus anomalously and conspicuously introduced represents the stamp of consecration for a special religious purpose, and the marked association of it with the charioteer on the Akragantine coin with the chariot on the Syracusan, makes it probable that this purpose was not unconnected with the games. It is even possible, though this is by no means a necessary explanation, that the A here is explained by the fuller legend *αεθλον* of the Metapontine coin in the signification of prize money.

In any case, the number of early Greek types which were originally coined for a definite religious object, and only in a secondary way became part of the ordinary currency, is probably more considerable than has been hitherto supposed.

The armour exhibited in the exergual space of our "medallions," consisting of shield, greaves, breast-plate and helmet, makes up together the *πανοπλία*, or full hoplite accoutrement, such as in the Greek cities was the recognised prize of military valour.<sup>36</sup> The martial charac-

<sup>33</sup> *B. M. Cat., Syracuse*, 116. I have a fine example in my own collection found near Catania. Kinch interprets this design as showing that the winner, A, consecrates an earring (in the other case a *sphendonē*) to the divinity.

<sup>34</sup> *B. M. Cat., Syracuse*, No. 109.

<sup>35</sup> A specimen of this coin is in my own collection.

<sup>36</sup> Thus Isokrates says of his father (*De Bigis*, § 29): "*Καὶ . . . ὅτε Φορμίων ἐξήγαγεν ἐπὶ Θράκης χιλίους Ἀθηναίων ὀπλίτας*

ter of this prize is certainly significant; there can be no doubt, however, that in the present instance this panoply appears immediately, at least, in an agonistic connexion, and we may thus gather that the contest referred to was of the kind known as ἀγών ἀθλοφόρος, in which the prizes had a material value. It is, therefore, impossible in this case, as in some other Sicilian coin types, to trace an allusion to the Olympian games, where the wild olive wreath was the only tangible reward. The heroic practice, such as it is recorded for us by Homer<sup>37</sup> in his account of the contests in honour of Patroklos, of offering tripods, cauldrons, and other objects of value, including arms, to the winners,<sup>38</sup> does not seem to have been adhered to at any of the four great Games of Greece. The returning winner was, indeed, often presented, as at Athens, for instance, with pecuniary and other material rewards by his gratified fellow-citizens, but this is another matter; and on the other hand, in some of the less celebrated contests, prizes of value, such as silver cups and bronze vessels, were not infrequently awarded. It would, however, appear that the only recorded festivals at which arms were given as prizes were the Hekatombæa at Argos, in which a shield was presented to the victor in

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ἐπιλέξάμενος τοὺς ἀρίστους, μετὰ τούτων στρατευσάμενος τοιοῦτος ἦν ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις ὥστε στεφανωθῆναι καὶ πανοπλίαν λαβεῖν παρὰ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ." Cf. Eckhel, *Doctrina Numorum* (i. p. 248), and Hulsch, *De Damareteo argenteo Syracusanorum Nummo*, Dresden, 1862, p. 25. The spear, however, is not indicated in the "medallions."

<sup>37</sup> Il. Ψ 251.

<sup>38</sup> So too Virgil, *Æn.* v. 106—112:

"*Munera principio ante oculos circoque locantur  
In medio; sacri tripodes, viridesque coronæ  
Et palmæ, pretium victoribus, armaque et ostro  
Perfusa vestes, argenti aurique talenta.*"

addition to the myrtle wreath, and the military games in Keos, in which the guerdon consisted of arms and silver drachmæ.<sup>39</sup> We must, therefore, look to some local festival to explain the introduction of this new and martial reward at Syracuse.

As a matter of fact, some of the local games instituted by the Sikeliote Greeks had, at a considerably earlier date, attained sufficient celebrity to attract even competitors from the Mother-Country.<sup>40</sup> Hierôn of Syracuse had founded Nemean games at his Ætna, at which, as we learn from Pindar,<sup>41</sup> the Corinthian Xenophôn had gained a victory. At Syracuse itself, Isthmian games had been founded in imitation of her Mother-City, in which also the same Corinthian citizen had successfully competed. On the occasion again of the banishment of Thrasybulos in 446 B.C., and the establishment of a democratic government at Syracuse, yearly games had been introduced with great splendour, under the name of "Eleutheria," in honour of Zeus Eleutherios, to whom at the same time a colossal statue was set up.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>39</sup> See G. Humbert, art. "Certamen," in Daremberg et Saglio, *Dict. des Antiquités*.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Freeman, *Sicily*, ii., p. 268 and Note xxv. p. 581 (*Local Sikeliot Games*).

<sup>41</sup> *Ol.* xiii., 111 or 156:—

"Ταί θ' ὑπ' Ἀἴτνας ὑψιλόφου καλλίπλουτοι  
πόλεις."

According to one Scholiast: "πόλεις δὲ λέγει τὰς Συρακούσας. . . . Ἰσθμία γὰρ καὶ ἐν αὐταῖς τελεῖται"; while another says of Ætna: "ἐκεῖ γὰρ ἄγεται ἀγὼν Νέμεα καλούμενος."

<sup>42</sup> Diod., lib. xi., c. 72: "Καταλύσαντες τὴν Θρασυβούλου τυραννίδα, συνήγαγον ἐκκλησίαν καὶ περὶ τῆς ἰδίας δημοκρατίας βουλευσάμενοι πάντες ὁμογνημόνως ἐψηφίσαντο Διὸς μὲν ἐλευθερίου κολοττιαῖον ἀνδριάντα κατασκευάσαι, κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν δὲ θύειν Ἐλευθερία καὶ ἀγῶνας ἐπιφανεῖς ποιεῖν κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμέραν ἐν ᾗ τὸν τύραννον καταλύσαντες ἠλευθέρωσαν τὴν πατρίδα."

But the prizes exhibited on our "medallions" assuredly connect themselves with an agonistic festival of more recent foundation at Syracuse than either the Nemea, Isthmia, or Eleutheria. The evidence which points to the times immediately succeeding the Athenians' defeat as the date of the first issue of these revived *Dámareteia*, gives us good warrant for connecting this exceptional coinage with the New Games then instituted to commemorate the event, and which from the fatal stream whose gorge was the scene of the supreme overthrow were known as the *Assinaria*.<sup>43</sup>

In the case of the tetradrachms already cited, Persephonê herself, in the guise of a winner of the chariot race, receives at once the wreath of victory and the trophy of the captured vessels. In the other instance the spoils of the Athenian hoplites seem to have actually served as the winner's prize. But it is probable that even in this instance the armour on the coin is to be considered as the consecrated guerdon of a tutelary divinity of the city, and as rather typifying than actually representing the prize of a mere mortal winner at the games. The arms which before all others a Syracusan must have had in his mind were the *spolia opima* of Nikias himself, an elaborately wrought shield attributed to whom was shown at a much later date, as Plutarch informs us, suspended in one of their temples.<sup>44</sup> Plutarch's description of the surface of this shield as "a web-work of gold and purple welded together in a certain fashion," is suggestive of the

<sup>43</sup> Plutarch, *Nikias*, c. xxviii., 1.

<sup>44</sup> Plutarch. *Nikias*, c. xxviii., 4. "Πυνθάνομαι δὲ μέχρι νῦν ἐν Συρακούσαις ἀσπίδα πρὸς ἱερῷ δείκνυσθαι, Νικίου μὲν λεγομένην, χρυσοῦ δὲ καὶ πορφύρας ἐν πῶς πρὸς ἄλληλα μεμιγμένους δι' ὑψῆς συγκεκροτημένην."

enamelled ornamentation on "Late Celtic," shields which may, as in so many analogous instances, represent a Greek tradition. It has been already noticed that the boss of the shield on the dekadrachm of the New Artist from the Santa Maria hoard shows traces of having been surrounded with an ornamental zone, a detail quite in keeping with the elaborate decoration which a minute study reveals upon the greaves, cuirass, and helmet of the same trophy.

It is then in connexion with the institution of the New Assinarian Games commemorating the Athenian overthrow that, after an interval of over two generations, the noble fifty-litra pieces were once more issued by the Syracusan mint. Their earlier appearance under the form of the *Dāmareteia* had been due to the signal triumph of Gelôn and his allies over the Carthaginians in the great day of Himera; and the lion symbol that these display betokens, as we have seen, that they were in all probability the guerdon of local Games in honour of Apollo. In the present case the trophy of arms in the exergue of the "medallions" may be held to have a special appropriateness to the River-God Assinaros, in whose honour the New Games were instituted. Plutarch informs us<sup>45</sup> that on the occasion of the great victory the finest and tallest trees along the banks of the stream were hung with the panoplies of arms taken from the captive Athenians.

In the case of the *Dāmareteia* the female head on the obverse side shows, however, that the local Goddess or Nymph whose effigy had from the earliest times been a constant feature of the Syracusan coin-types claimed her share of the monetary tribute with the divine patron of the

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<sup>45</sup> *Nikias*, c. xxvii. 8: "τοὺς, δὲ φανερῶς ἐαλωκότας ἀθροίσαντες τὰ μὲν κάλλιστα καὶ μέγιστα δένδρα τῶν περὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ἀνέδησαν αἰχμαλώτοις πανοπλίαις."

Games. And so too, in the case of the revived issue of the *pentékontalitra*, though the prize arms and chariot on the reverse may, as suggested, connect themselves with the River-God in whose honour the New Games were instituted after the Athenian overthrow beside his waters, the obverse types still commemorate the archaic cult of the Goddess of the Nether World and the Nymph whose miraculous fountain welled forth in the island citadel of Syracuse. The association of Arethusa, who had watched the destruction of the Athenian fleet, is certainly appropriate, nor less so the tribute to Persephonê on the "medallion" types of the New Artist and Evænetos. As a Chthonic Goddess, the consort of Aidoneus, the daughter of Dêmêtêr Erinnyis, whose shrine with that of her Mother had looked down on some of the most stirring scenes of that long struggle, she had certainly some claim to share the spoils and honours of the crowning victory.

The Assinarian Games, as we further learn from Plutarch,<sup>46</sup> were first celebrated in September, 412, on the first anniversary of the victory, and it is to this date that the first distribution of these noble pieces must in all probability be referred.

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<sup>46</sup> Plutarch, *Nik.* xxviii., "ἡμέρα δ' ἦν τετρὰς φθίνοντος τοῦ Καρνείου μηνός, ὃν Ἀθηναῖοι Μεταγεινιώνα προσαγορεύουσι." Mr. Freeman, following Holm, fixes the day as September 18, 412. The engraving of the dies may have been put in hand shortly after the victory itself, in the autumn, namely, of 413 B.C.

## PART VII.

### CHRONOLOGICAL CONCLUSIONS BEARING ON THE SYRACUSAN COINAGE.

THE chronological results arrived at in the foregoing Sections, not only with regard to the first issue of the Syracusan "medallions" but to that of a large number of related pieces of other denominations, show that the hitherto accepted views as to the date of the Syracusan coin-types of the last decades of the Fifth and the first half of the Fourth Century B.C. need considerable revision.

It has been shown that the early tetradrachm type of Evænetos dates back in all probability to about 425 B.C., and that the still earlier signed work of Eumenês with the signature **EVMH NOV**, and of Sôsiôn, must therefore be thrown back some ten or fifteen years earlier than this. It has been further shown that what may be called the "Period of the Coiled Earring" comes to a close about the date of the Athenian siege, and that the works of the later group of engravers, Eukleidas, Euth . . . , Phrygillos and Evarchidas, as well as all those executed in Evænetos' earlier "manner," belong in the main to the Period 425—413 B.C.

With the Athenian overthrow of 413 and the newly instituted Games begins the revived issue of the silver *pentêkontalitra*, Kimôn's earlier types taking precedence. In close relation to the head of Arethusa as she appears



on Kimôn's early "Medallions" stand the tetradrachm types signed by Parme . . . (Pl. I. Fig. 6), together with some allied pieces (Pl. I. Fig. 7)<sup>1</sup>, and though the forms of earrings point to a somewhat later date there seems no sufficient reason for bringing down the issue of these types more than a decade beyond that of the first "medallions." On the other hand Kimôn's tetradrachms with the profile head of the Nymph in every way correspond with his second dekadrachm type<sup>2</sup> struck about 410 B.C., while there is conclusive evidence that his facing head of Arethusa had already appeared before the close of B.C. 409, when it was copied at Himera.

The parallelism with this latter coin both in style and design presented by Eukleidas' tetradrachm with the facing head of Pallas,<sup>3</sup> tends, as we have seen, to show that this coin was issued at least as early as Kimôn's masterpiece. This chronological equation is corroborated, moreover, as already noticed, by the fact that an example of Eukleidas' coin occurred in the great Naxos hoard deposited, as I hope to show,<sup>4</sup> at the latest by 410 B.C.

This conclusion further enables us to establish the approximate date of two other important types for which the same reverse die was used as that which accompanies Eukleidas' facing head of Pallas. One of these is the tetradrachm exhibiting on the obverse the exquisite design of the Korê with the ear of barley shooting up above her forehead and her long tresses falling about her neck,<sup>5</sup> and it is to be observed that the earring that she wears is of

<sup>1</sup> See p. 262.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 261.

<sup>3</sup> Head, *op. cit.*, Pl. IV., 10. Cf. p. 276.

<sup>4</sup> See Appendix B.

<sup>5</sup> Head, *Coins of Syracuse*, Pl. V., 4.

the old-fashioned coiled type. The other coin<sup>6</sup> associated with this Eukleidian die, an example of which occurred in the Santa Maria hoard, also shows a very beautiful female head, the full artistic significance of which seems hitherto to have escaped notice and may therefore call for a few words. A representation of this type from a specimen in the British Museum is given below, Fig. 10. The features, for purity of outline, are unsurpassed in the Syracusan series. The hair is bound up into a kind of top-knot behind resembling that of the flying Nikê on the reverse of one of Evænetos' "medallions" (Pl. V. fig.



Fig. 10.—SYRACUSAN TETRADRACHM, WITH HEAD OF NIKÊ.

10), and otherwise akin to some earlier Syracusan types of the late Transitional Period.<sup>7</sup> The earring is of a remarkable form, and as such marks the period of varied fashions in the use of this ornament which intervened between that characterized by the fixed use of the coil-earring and that of the triple pendant. It will be seen, that as this coin has been hitherto represented,<sup>8</sup> the earring slopes forwards in a curious way as if in defiance of the laws of gravity. But in truth the earring is as it were the needle of the compass which gives the true bearing of the whole design.

<sup>6</sup> *Op. cit.*, Pl. V., 5.

<sup>7</sup> Head, *op. cit.*, Pl. II., figs. 12, 13.

<sup>8</sup> Castelli, *Sic. Vet. Num.*; *Auct. i.*, Tab. vii., 3; Head, *Coins of Syracuse*, Pl. V., 5.

It is the head and not the pendent ornament that is intended to bend forward, and this head with the waving top-knot like that of the Victory on the "medallion," is the head of a flying Nikê.<sup>9</sup> The earring in fact enables us to supply the wings.

One other tetradrachm type of the same period seems to call for special mention. This is the fine coin presenting on the obverse a female head with somewhat flowing hair associated with the signature *IM*. From its remarkable style and from the device of the lion tearing down the bull on the exergue of the reverse, so strongly suggestive of the coin-types of Akanthos and Asia, this piece has been by Mr. Poole<sup>10</sup> attributed to an Ionian artist. The full rounded form of the chin as here shown is strongly suggestive of the Arethusa on Kimôn's earliest dekadrachm type, and the flowing tresses have a certain affinity with those of the Korê as designed by the New Artist. There can, in any case, be little doubt as to the pre-Dionysian date of this type. The earring seems to be of the earlier coiled form. The inscription is retrograde and shows the early *N*, and the quadriga scheme connects this tetradrachm with a more or less contemporary group of coins, including those by Kimôn and Eukleidas with

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<sup>9</sup> This throws a retrospective light on the similar heads of the Transitional Period, and another of a date more nearly approaching the present example, though in these cases the head is not bowed forwards. The Winged Nikê appears with a similar top-knot on coins of Terina.

<sup>10</sup> *Num. Chron.*, 1864, p. 247 ("On Greek Coins as Illustrating Greek Art"). Mr. Head (*Coins of Syracuse*, p. 22) remarks on this type: "Whether the peculiar style of this piece, so different from the other tetradrachms of Syracuse, is due to its being the work of a native of Greece proper or Asia Minor, or only to its being ten or twenty years later, it is impossible to say."

the facing heads of Arethusa and Pallas, some of which are certainly anterior to 409 B.C.<sup>11</sup>

It will be seen that, according to this classification, all the Syracusan tetradrachms belonging to the period of the signed coinage fall into one or other of the above groups. In other words they are all anterior to the beginning of the Fourth Century within the limits of which the bulk of them have been hitherto included. As already pointed out, the presence of the later letters **Ω** and **H** on many of these coins cannot be regarded as an argument against their comparatively early date, for we find the new letters already on the earliest work of Sôsiôn and Eumenês, which on general grounds may be referred to the approximate date 440 B.C., about which time the **Ω** also makes its appearance at Thurii and Kaulonia in Italy. At Tarentum, indeed, it is found at least as early as 450 B.C. On the other hand, speaking generally, the whole of the signed tetradrachms of Syracuse and the other pieces contemporary with them still belong to what may be called the period of transitional epigraphy. On a gold hundred-litra piece of Kimôn, struck about the same time as his tetradrachms, the form **ΞΥΡΑΚΟΞΙΩΝ** is still found, and Phrygillos, Euth . . ., Evarchidas, Eukleidas, and Evænetos, on his early dies, still associated their signatures with coins that display transitional traits in the orthography of the civic legend.

The approximate chronological results as regards the Syracusan coinage arrived at in the course of the present study may be tabulated as follows:—

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<sup>11</sup> An obverse by **IM** . . . is found on a drachm (*B. M. Cat*, *Syracuse*, 233), associated with a reverse signed by Kimôn.

B.C.

*Early signed tetradrachms by Sósion and Eumenés ["ΕΥΜΗΒΟΥ"]* . . . . . c. 440

[Ω and Η employed in signatures: new letter-forms used with uncertain force.]

*Later coins of Eumenés ["ΕΥΜΕΝΟΥ"]* . c. 430—415

*Early tetradrachm of Ecænetos [ΕΥΑΙΝΕΤΟ on tablet]* . . . . . c. 425

*Other types in Ecænetos' "early manner"; coins by Euth . . . , Phrygillos, Erarchidas, Eukleidas, etc., and other contemporary pieces with coiled earrings and transitional epigraphy* . . . . . c. 425—413

FINAL DEFEAT OF THE ATHENIANS AND INSTITUTION OF THE "ASSINARIAN GAMES" . 413

ASSINARIAN GAMES FIRST CELEBRATED, SEPT. 18 . 412

REISSUE OF SILVER PENTĒKONTALITRA.

[Variant forms of earring come into use about this epoch.]

*Kimôn's "Medallion" Type I.* . . . . c. 412

*Kimôn's "Medallion" Type II., and similar tetradrachm* . . . . . c. 410

"CARTHAGINIAN" COINAGE AT MOTYA AND PANORMOS. KIMÔN'S "MEDALLION" TYPES I. AND II. IMITATED . . c. 410—408

*Kimôn's tetradrachm with facing head of Arethusa* . . . . . c. 409

[Imitated at Himera, destroyed at close of B.C. 409.]

*Tetradrachm types by Parme . . . , Im . . . , etc.* c. 413—405

SYRACUSAN GOLD HUNDRED- AND FIFTY-LITRA PIECES ISSUED . . . . . c. 408

FIRST ISSUE OF CARTHAGINIAN CAMP PIECES WITH HORSE AND HALF HORSE IMITATED FROM GOLD COINS OF SYRACUSE AND GELA c. 406—405

TYRANNY OF DIONYSIOS I. BEGINS . . . . . 406

	B.C.
<i>Kimôn's "Medallion" Type III. A.</i> . . . . .	} c. 406
<i>"Medallion" by New Artist.</i> . . . . .	
<i>Evænetos' "Medallions" first issued</i> . . . . .	
[TETRADRACHM ISSUES CEASE ABOUT THIS TIME.]	
Kimôn's "Medallion" Type III. B. first issued . . . . .	c. 403
CARTHAGINIAN SIEGE OF SYRACUSE: TEMPLES OF DÉMÊTÊR AND PERSEPHONÊ PLUN- DERED . . . . .	395
PROPIITIATORY CULT OF "THE GODDESSES" INSTITUTED AT CARTHAGE . . . . .	c. 393
<i>Carthaginian tetradrachms copied from Evænetos' "Medallions," first struck in Sicily shortly after this date.</i>	
Evænetos' latest "Medallion" Type [signa- ture <b>EYAINETOY</b> ] executed . . . . .	c. 385
Evænetos' head of Persephonê imitated on coins of Messênê, etc. . . . .	369
Issue of "medallions" continued from old dies . . . . .	c. 385—360

The conclusion to which we have thus been led, that all the tetradrachm types struck at Syracuse during the finest period of art belong to a date anterior to 400 B.C., will appear to some revolutionary. And undoubtedly it raises great difficulties. But on the other hand, the present system of chronology, as applied to these Syracusan coin-types, raises questions which it seems even more difficult to answer.

How, it may well be asked, if the majority of these tetradrachm types belong to the Dionysian Period, does it happen that tetradrachms in Evænetos' later style, as exhibited by his "medallions," are absolutely unknown?

How is it, moreover, that whereas tetradrachms of Kimôn, reproducing the earlier "medallion" head, Type II., struck from about 410 B.C., are known, his commoner dekadrachms, Type III., which were first abundantly struck in the last two or three years of the Fifth Century find no counterpart amongst his tetradrachms?

According to the view put forward in the present monograph, the answer to these questions is as short as it is simple. *The later "medallion" types of Kimôn and those of Evænetos were not reproduced on tetradrachms, because by the date at which they were struck, or at least very shortly after their first appearance, the coinage of tetradrachms at Syracuse had altogether ceased.*

It is agreed on all hands that the "medallions" of Evænetos and the later dekadrachm types of Kimôn belong to the Dionysian Period. But these coins present a more advanced style than the signed tetradrachms of Syracuse, and show no traces of transitional epigraphy. They belong to a time when the new letter-forms had finally taken root.

How comes it then, it may fairly be asked of those who bring down the tetradrachms to the same period, that both the style and epigraphy are earlier?

On the other hand, the composition of all large hoards of coins deposited in Sicily about this epoch goes far to explain the break which at this time occurs in the tetradrachm issues of Syracuse. From these finds, and the recent discovery at Santa Maria di Licodia is no exception to the rule, it appears that the silver currency of the Sicilian cities was at this time supplied more and more by imported *Pegasi* of Corinth and her Adriatic colonies. In the recent West Sicilian hoard described under Appendix A, the deposit of which seems to have taken

place about 400 B.C., the early didrachms of Leukas were numerous represented. In the great Naxos hoard, buried in all probability about 410 B.C.,<sup>12</sup> these *Pegasi* already occurred in considerable abundance. Add to these a copious supply of Athenian tetradrachms of early style, and, later, the abundant Siculo-Punic coinage, and it will be seen that, without drawing on native Hellenic sources, there was no dearth of silver currency at this time in Sicily. At Syracuse itself the use of the imported silver staters of the mother-city and the sister colonies was quite consistent with local self-respect, and the issue of the splendid *pentékontalitra* of Kimôn and Evænetos might be regarded as a sufficient assertion of the superiority of the city "of great cities" itself.

On the other hand, it is extremely probable that the apparently abrupt cessation of the tetradrachm issues at Syracuse shortly after the commencement of the Dionysian dictatorship, was due to some financial *coup* of that tyrant. Of the expedients to which Dionysios resorted for filling his own coffers we have more than one example. On one occasion, having levied a forced loan of all the available silver in the citizens' possession, he countermarked the coins in such a way as to double their legal value, and repaid his debts in these newly stamped coins, every drachm of silver thus standing for two.<sup>13</sup> Aristotle, to whom this account

<sup>12</sup> See Appendix B.

<sup>13</sup> Aristotle, *Oeconomica* II. xx. "Δανεισάμενός τε παρὰ τῶν πολιτῶν χρήματα ἐπ' ἀποδόσει, ὡς ἀπῆτουν αὐτὸν, ἐκέλευσεν ἀναφέρειν ὅσον ἔχει τις ἀργύριον πρὸς αὐτόν· εἰ δὲ μὴ, θάνατον ἔταξε τὸ ἐπιτίμιον. Ἀνενεχθέντος δὲ τοῦ ἀργυρίου, ἐπικόψας χαρακτῆρα, ἐξέδωκε τὴν δραχμὴν δύο δυναμένην δραχμὰς τό τε ὀφειλόμενον πρότερον ἀνῆνεγκαν πρὸς αὐτόν." This account is supposed by Salinas (see Appendix A, p. 167) and Garrucci (*Monete dell' Italia ant.*, p. 182) to refer to the Rhêgians whom, according



is due, records another and still more outrageous fiscal operation carried out by Dionysios at Syracuse, which has moreover a special reference to tetradrachms. Having levied a forced loan for the construction and equipment of his fleet, he repaid it by forcing on his creditors tin coins of the nominal value of four drachmæ, but which in reality were only worth one.<sup>14</sup> The scarcity of silver<sup>15</sup> is expressly alleged as the reason for this procedure of Dionysios. Otherwise he might simply have repeated his former operation. It is possible, as has been suggested by M. Six,<sup>16</sup> that the tin thus utilised was acquired from the loot of Motya.

Of these tin, or possibly debased silver tetradrachms, which may, perhaps, be compared with the *potin* coinage of Lesbos, no example is known to exist.<sup>17</sup> They may

to the preceding paragraph, Dionysios had sold as slaves, after robbing them of everything that they possessed. But, if this was the case, how could he borrow of them? And, if he did borrow of them, is it likely that he repaid even half his debt? The *πολίται* referred to were certainly his *own* citizens—the Syracusans.

<sup>14</sup> Aristot., *Oekon.* ii. 20, and *Pollux* ix. 79. (Cf. Boeckh, *Staatshaushaltung der Athener*, i. 690; Holm, *Geschichte Siciliens im Alterthum*, ii. 145, 445.)

<sup>15</sup> Οὐκ ἐντροπῶν ἀργυρίων.

<sup>16</sup> *Num. Chron.*, 1875, p. 29.

<sup>17</sup> M. Six (*Num. Chron.*, 1875, p. 28 *seqq.*) supposes that bronze pieces are referred to, and identifies them with the large bronze coins of Syracuse with the head of Pallas, weighing about 8 Attic drachms (see *infra*, pp. 262, 263). He suggests that these coins may have contained 1 drachm of tin and 7 of copper, and that Dionysios passed them off as containing 4 drachms of tin and 4 of copper. He assumes that 4 drachms of tin would be the equivalent of a copper *litra* weighing 50 drachms. The value of the coin actually struck, with only 1 drachm of tin in place of 4, was, however, about 20 copper drachms, so that 30 copper drachms would be gained on each. The theory is

either have been called in on some subsequent occasion by the Syracusan Mint officers, or have been melted down for what good metal they contained. It would probably be too charitable a view to regard them as having been intended as tokens gradually redeemable by the Treasury, such as were undoubtedly the iron pieces (*Sidáreoi*) of Byzantium, struck for inland circulation.

Yet a certain amount of analogy may be detected between the two cases. The Byzantines were reduced to an iron currency amongst themselves because their silver was required to purchase corn of the Pontic merchants. The Syracusan Treasury was drained of its specie owing to the constant demands of Dionysios for the payment of his foreign mercenaries. It is obvious that, as in the parallel case, however much Dionysios' own subjects might be put off with baser metal, the mercenaries required their pay in sterling coin. The dekadrachms were hardly coined in sufficient numbers to suffice by themselves for this purpose, and it seems probable that—in addition to the imported "*Pegasi*"—the Siculo-Punic and Carthaginian tetradrachms, the types of which so closely approach those of the Syracusan "medallions," to a great extent supplied Dionysios' requirements, especially in dealing with the Gauls, Iberians, and other strange troops in his service. It is even possible that some of the uninscribed coins of this class,

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ingenious, but it does not seem to meet all the circumstances of the case. The operation effected on this occasion by Dionysios was only an aggravated form of what he had done on the former occasion. He had levied his former loan in silver, and he repaid it in coins that at least simulated silver tetradrachms. These bronze pieces, however, with the dolphins and stellar device, have no visible relation to the silver issues of Syracuse, though they represent in a changed form traditional devices of the earlier bronze coinage.

executed in a specially fine style, were actually struck by his direction.

The fact that Dionysios was responsible for a tetradrachm coinage in base metal, suggests at least a possible explanation for the cessation of the silver tetradrachm issues shortly after his accession to power. It would even appear that during the last years of his reign the "medallions" themselves may have ceased any longer to be coined. The first issue of Evænetos' silver *pentékonta-litra* has been approximately referred to the year 406, and assuming that the later activity of this artist continued for another two decades, he may have engraved his last "medallion" dies about 385 B.C. From the cracked and oxidized character of some of these at the time that the "medallions" themselves were still being struck, it is probable, as has already been suggested, that the dies themselves continued to be used at a time when the engraver himself had ceased to work. But, even allowing for this prolonged use of these celebrated dies, it is impossible to suppose that they could have been serviceable for any length of time, and it is difficult to believe that the "medallions" were still issued later than at most 360 B.C.

Was the silver coinage of Syracuse then altogether in abeyance? It is possible that for a few years this may have been the case, and that the Syracusans were reduced, for a while, at least, to draw on their earlier currency, and on the "Pegasi" or ten-litra staters, as they were known in Sicily, of the Corinthian mother-city and the sister colonies. But if so, there are, I venture to think, good reasons for believing that the want of an independent mintage was soon supplied by the issue by Syracuse herself, and with her own civic inscription, of "Pegasi" copied from the Corinthian models.

With regard to the date of the first issue of these Syracusan Pegasi, various opinions have been put forward. Raoul Rochette,<sup>18</sup> the Duc de Luynes,<sup>19</sup> and more recently, Mr. Head,<sup>20</sup> have connected the first appearance of this Corinthian type upon the Syracusan dies with the expedition of Timoleôn (344 B.C.). M. Six,<sup>21</sup> on the other hand, would refer the earliest issue of coins of this type to the reign of Dionysios I., and considers that they were struck with a view to the commercial interests of Syracuse on the East Adriatic coast, on which Dionysios had planted his colonial foundations of Issa and Lissos.

But the style of these staters is hardly early enough for the reign of Dionysios the Elder, while on the other hand it still seems to be separated by too long an interval from that of the Agathokleian "Pegasi" to be well brought down as late as Timoleôn's time. The occurrence on some examples of the early orthography  $\epsilon\text{YPAKO}\epsilon\text{ION}$  also points to a comparatively early date. On the whole then, it seems preferable to adopt the view put forward by Padre Romano,<sup>22</sup> and to connect the first appearance of these coins with Diôn's successful expedition of 357 B.C. Diôn on his exile had transported the moveable part of his large patrimony to Corinth,<sup>23</sup> and that city became both the financial and military base of the expedition that he subsequently led to Sicily from Zakynthos.<sup>24</sup> In this

<sup>18</sup> *Annali dell' Inst. di Arch.*, 1829, pp. 384—5.

<sup>19</sup> *Rev. Numismatique*, 1843, p. 8.

<sup>20</sup> *Coins of Syracuse*, pp. 28—29; but in the *B. M. Cat.*, "Corinth," Introduction, p. 1., Mr. Head prefers "to leave the question of the exact date an open one."

<sup>21</sup> *Num. Chron.*, 1875, pp. 27—28.

<sup>22</sup> *Sopra alcune Monete scoperte in Sicilia* (Paris, 1862), p. 23.

<sup>23</sup> Plutarch, *In Dione*.

<sup>24</sup> Diodôros, lib. xvi., c. 6.

connexion the contemporary appearance of a Leontine Pegasos in precisely the same style as the earliest Syracusan, and with the civic legend in the archaic form **ΛΕONTINON**, has a special significance. Leontini, in fact, specially distinguished itself by the aid that it had afforded to Diôn's cause. This city had seized the opportunity of his descent on Syracuse to throw off the Dionysian yoke;<sup>25</sup> with Syracusan aid it had successfully repulsed the attempt of Dionysios II's general, Philistos, to recover it for his master, and shortly afterwards, on Diôn's temporary withdrawal from Syracuse, it had afforded him a welcome rallying point for his mercenaries.<sup>26</sup> It is highly probable that the appearance of these two sister types of Corinthian origin at Leontini and Syracuse is to be referred to this moment of close alliance and revived autonomy.

At the time of Timoleôn's expedition, on the other hand, the part played by Leontini was very different. It was at this time the rallying point of the tyrant instead of the deliverer. It was not indeed till 340 B.C. that Timoleôn was able to make himself master of the city and drive out Hiketas. Leontini, unlike nearly all the other Sicilian cities, so far from being restored to independence was incorporated in the Syracusan territory and its inhabitants transplanted to Syracuse.<sup>27</sup> These alliance pieces with the Corinthian type cannot certainly be referred to Timoleôn's time.

It seems to me that the archaic form taken by the inscription on these parallel pieces, which conflicts with

<sup>25</sup> Diod., lib. xvi., c. 16.

<sup>26</sup> Diod., lib. xvi., c. 17.

<sup>27</sup> Diod., lib. xvi., 82; Plutarch, *Timoleôn*, 82. Cf. E. H. Bunbury, *Smith's Dict. of Geogr.*, s.v. Leontini.

their decidedly later style, finds its most rational explanation in the gap which, as has been shown, existed to the Syracusan coinage. Had the Syracusan tetradrachms been struck during the Dionysian period, the later epigraphy, such as we find it on the "medallions," would by this time have taken such firm root at Syracuse, that to revive the earlier  $\Theta$  for  $\Omega$  in the civic legend would have savoured of pedantry. But such, as we have seen, was not the case. The native silver coins of this denomination on which the Syracusans, and for that matter the Sikeliote Greeks in general, still drew, so far as their needs were not supplied by the imported currency or by the great *pentékontalitra*,



Figs. 11 and 12.—"Pegasi" struck by Leontini and Syracuse in alliance, 357 B.C.

had none of them been issued in the immediately preceding period. The date of their issue went back *per saltum* over a generation to a time when the newer letter forms had not yet finally taken root. Among the Syracusan and Sicilian tetradrachms such as we find them in hoards of coins dating from the Dionysian period the coins with the older form of epigraphy are still in the majority. Hence, from the point of view of the die-sinker and moneyer, who simply reproduced the most frequent form of the civic inscription as he found it on the current coins of Syracuse still in use in this day, nothing was more natural than to write it in the older form  $\epsilon\text{ΥΡΑΚΟ}\epsilon\text{ΙΟΝ}$ .

To the same period as these early "Pegasi" must

unquestionably be referred the large bronze pieces of Syracuse, presenting a head of Pallas in an olive-wreathed helmet on their obverse and the two dolphins and "webbed" star on the reverse,<sup>28</sup> as well as the smaller bronze pieces, in which the head of the same Goddess is associated with a sea-horse. That these coins belong to an earlier date than Timoleôn's time may be further inferred from the extremely fine copy of Evænetos' head of Persephonê with which the larger of the two coins<sup>29</sup> was over-struck at Kentoripa (Pl. VI. fig. 4),<sup>30</sup> and which from the character of the art displayed it is difficult to bring down later than to the middle of the Fourth Century B.C.

ARTHUR JOHN EVANS.

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<sup>28</sup> Head, *Coins of Syracuse*, Pl. VII., 1, and p. 30. It is there referred to Timoleôn's time.

<sup>29</sup> *Op. cit.*, Pl. VII., 2, and p. 30.

<sup>30</sup> The coin from which the prototype on Pl. VI., fig. 4, was taken, was obtained by me at Centorbi itself. The helmet of the original Pallas is clearly visible on it. I am unable to agree with Mr. Head (*Coins of Syracuse*, p. 36) that the Korê as she appears on these coins bears the stamp of the Agathokleian Period.

# APPENDIX A.

## ON A HOARD OF COINS RECENTLY DISCOVERED IN WESTERN SICILY.

THE remarkable hoard recently found in Western Sicily (according to my own information at a place called Contessa), and described by Professor Salinas in the *Notizie degli Scavi* for 1888,<sup>1</sup> has such an important bearing on our present subject as to demand some special notice, the more so as nothing more than brief references to it have appeared in any numismatic publication.

The hoard itself may be summarised as follows:—

### *Athens.*

1. Tetradrachms of fine archaic style . . . . . 2

### *Leukas.*

2. Several *Pegasi* belonging to the earliest class of  
Leukadian *Pegasi* . . . . . x

### *Rhégion*—Tetradrachms.

3. *Obv.*—Seated *Dêmos* and insc. **ΞΟΝΙΔΕΑ**.  
*Rev.*—Lion's scalp . . . . . 1
4. *Obv.*—In later style with head of *Apollo* to r.,  
resembling those signed by *Kratisippos*; in  
front **PHGINON**; behind two leaves and  
berry.  
*Rev.*—Do. . . . . 1

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<sup>1</sup> *Ripostiglio Siciliano di Monete Antiche di Argento*. Thanks to the courtesy of Prof. Salinas, I had an opportunity of inspecting these coins when at Palermo.



*Akragas.*

5. Archaic tetradrachm, worn . . . . . 1  
 6. Tetradrachm of fine style, with *obv.* two eagles devouring hare.  
*Rev.*—Skylia beneath crab; Insc., **AKPAΓANTI-NON.** (Fine condition) . . . . . 1  
 — 2

*Kamarina.*—Tetradrachm.

7. *Obv.*—Bearded head of Hēraklēs. Insc., **ΦΑΜΑΧ.**  
*Rev.*—Victorious quadriga galloping. (Style of Eumenēs.) Swan below. (Somewhat worn) 1

*Katané.*—Tetradrachm.

8. *Obv.*—Head of Apollo. Transitional style. **KATANAION.**  
*Rev.*—Slow quadriga. Two vars. (One in good condition, one rather worn) . . . . . 2  
 9. *Obv.*—Head, less archaic, **KATANAION.**  
*Rev.*—Victory above slow quadriga . . . . . 1  
 — 8

*Eryx.*—Tetradrachms.

10. *Obv.*—Seated Aphrodite holding dove, and Erôs; **EPYKINON.**  
*Rev.*—Victorious quadriga (fast). In fresh condition 4

*Gela.*

11. Transitional tetradrachms. Insc., **CEΛΛΞ** and **ΞΑΛΕΩ** . . . . . 8

Later tetradrachm—

12. *Obv.*—Insc. **CEΛΛΞ.**  
*Rev.*—Fast quadriga crowned by Nikê. The head of the charioteer turned back . . . . . 1

(All 9 tetradrachms of Gela were "anterior to the period of developed art," and somewhat worn.)

— 9

*Himera.*—Tetradrachm.

13. *Obv.*—Nymph sacrificing at altar, and Seilênos bathing at fountain. (Fine style.)

*Rev.*—**IMEPAION**; slow quadriga crowned by Nikê. (In fine condition) . . . . 1

*Leontini.*—Tetradrachms.

14. *Obv.*—Head of Apollo.

*Rev.*—Lion's head and four grains of corn. Insc., **ΛEONTIMOM**, **ΜΟΜΙΤΜΟΕΛ**, and **ΛEONTINON**. (Worn) . . . . 8

*Messana.*—Tetradrachms.

15. *Obv.*—Hare to r., spray below **MESS NOINA** with seated driver.

*Rev.*—Biga of mules walking; leaf below . . . . 1

16. Similar, without spray on *obv.* . . . . 1

17. Do. *inse.* **ME**  $\leq$   $\leq$  **ANION** . . . . 2

18. Do. *obv.* *inse.* **ME**  $\leq$   $\leq$  **ANION**; beneath hare a dolphin.

*Rev.*—Driver standing, Nikê above; in ex. leaf and berry . . . . 8

19. Do. Nikê stands on reins . . . . 2

20. Do. Nikê reaches fillet to mules; in ex. two dolphins 2

21. Do. fly beneath hare.

*Rev.*—Leaf and berry in ex. . . . 1

22. Do. ear of corn beneath hare.

*Rev.*—Female charioteer; above **ME**  $\leq$   $\leq$  **ANA**; in ex. two fishes . . . . 1

23. Do. *cicala* beneath hare **NOINA**  $\geq$   $\geq$  **EM**.

*Rev.*—Same . . . . 1

24. Do. dolphin beneath hare (N)**OINA**  $\geq$   $\geq$  **ME**.

*Rev.*—Same. Insc. **A** . . .  $\geq$  **ME** round . . . . 1

25. *Obv.* eagle seizing serpent beneath hare. Above to r. in small letters **ME**  $\xi$   $\xi$  **ANION**.

*Rev.*—Biga of mules walking. Nikê holds out a *caduceus* in r. hand, and with l. offers the charioteer a wreath. In ex. dolphin. On exergual line the signature **KIMON** is clearly visible.<sup>2</sup> (Brilliant condition) . . . . 1

*Motya.*—Tetradrachms.

26. *Obv.*—Eagle with closed wings; r. above insc. **ⲭⲓⲛⲟⲛ** (*Ha Motua*).

*Rev.*—Crab, fish beneath in concave field . . . . 1

27. *Do.*, but without fish on reverse . . . . 1

[These coins are copied from those of Akragas; but the fish on the reverse shows the influence of a somewhat later Akragantine coin than that from which the obverse is taken. It is found coupled with the crab on an Akragantine tetradrachm, presenting on the obverse an eagle tearing a hare (*B. M. Cat., Agrigentum*, No. 59), of the finest period of art. This fact has an important bearing on the chronology of these Motyan types].

28. *Obv.*—Female head in net to r., copied from the Arethusa of Kimôn's later "medallion," type II.; insc. **ⲭⲓⲛⲟⲛ**

*Rev.*—Crab . . . . . 1

29. *Obv.*—Female head in net to l. (inferior copy of preceding), but with three dolphins round.

*Rev.*—Crab . . . . . 3

(On these coins see pp. 271, 272). — 6

*Segesta.*—Tetradrachm.

30. *Obv.*—Naked male figure to r. before term: two dogs at his feet.

*Rev.*—Persephonê in galloping quadriga crowned by Nikê. In ex. *cicala* and insc. **ΣΕΛΕ(ξ)**  
**ΤΑΙΙΑ** . . . . . 1

<sup>2</sup> This fact is not noted in Signor Salinas' description. I ascertained it by a personal inspection of the coin.

*Selinûs*.—Tetradrachm.

31. *Obv.*—Naked River-God sacrificing before altar and holding branch. Before altar a cock; in field celery-leaf,  $\Xi$  **EAINONTION**.




*Rev.*—Apollo and Artemis in slow quadriga, wreath above; below, fish . . . . . 1

*Syracuse*.—Tetradrachms.

Archaic types with legend  $\Xi$  **YRAKO**  $\Xi$  **ION**.

32. *Obv.*—Female head bound with diadem. 4 vars . . . . . 4
33. *Obv.*—Female head with hair hanging down. Same inser., four dolphins bound . . . . . 1
34. *Obv.*—Female head in less archaic style, hair bound with diadem. Same inser. &c. . . . . 1
35. *Obv.*—Similar, but hippocamp in ex. of *rev.* . . . . 1
36. *Obv.*—Female head in *sakkos*. Same inser. . . . . 1
37. *Obv.*—Female head with hair bound by a broad band.  $\Xi$  **YPAKO**  $\Xi$  **ION**. . . . . 1
38. *Obv.*—Female head with spiral earring and hair bound *tutulus* fashion. Same inser. &c. . . . . 2
39. *Obv.*—Do. with hair bound up on top of head, same legend. Galloping quadriga. In ex. hippocamp . . . . . 1
40. *Obv.*—Do. diademed to l.  $\Xi$  **YPAKO**  $\Xi$  **ION**. Same *rev.* but two fishes in ex. . . . . 1
41. *Obv.*—Do. with spiral earring to l.; hair bound with sphendonê, the front adorned with star; beneath, signature **EYMELOY**.
- Rev.*—Galloping quadriga drawn by nude winged figure. In ex. *Skylla* and signature **EYΘ** . . . . . 1
42. *Obv.*—Do. hair flying up. Type of *Eukleidas*.
- Rev.*—Galloping quadriga, &c.; in ex. dolphin . . . . . 3
43. *Obv.*—Do. with *opisthosphendonê* .  $\Phi$  . . on *ampyx* (*Phrygillos*.) Inscr.  $\Xi$  **YPAKO**  $\Xi$  **ION**.

- Rev.*—Niké above fast quadriga, holding wreath and *aplustre*. In ex. ear of barley and signature **EYAPXIDΔ**. (Figured in *Num. Chron.*, 1890, p. 301) . . . . . 1
44. *Obv.*—Do. in *opisthosphendonê* bound in front with a fillet (*fiocco*). She wears a circular earring with various pendants ("ha un orecchino a cerchio e vari pendenti"), and a necklace with a small globe.
- Rev.*—Female driver, in galloping quadriga, crowned above by Nikê. In ex. ear of corn . . . . . 1
45. *Obv.*—Do. with spiral earring and *opisthosphendonê* to l.
- Rev.*—Galloping quadriga, &c. In ex. ear of corn . . . . . 1
46. *Obv.*—Do. in starred *opisthosphendonê* with earring of three drops, to l. Inscr. [**ΞΥΡΑΚΟ**] **ΞΙΩΝ**.
- Rev.*—Galloping quadriga, &c. In ex. ear of corn . . . . . 2
47. Dekadrachm of Kimôn. Head of Arethusa in the net in high relief. Type II. (Slightly worn.) . . . . . 1
48. Dekadrachm of Evānetos. Head of Persephonê, &c. No symbol. The lower part of the coin where the signature **EYAINÉ** probably stood is wanting.
- Rev.*—Quadriga, &c. Horses in fairly high action . . . . . 1  
 (Brilliant condition.)
49. Do. Beneath chin **Δ**. Under lowermost dolphin **EYAINÉ**.
- Rev.*—As preceding. **ΑΘΛΑ** visible beneath panoply in ex. (Brilliant condition.) . . . . . 2
- 
- 26
- Siculo-Punic.*
50. *Obv.*—Forepart of bridled horse r., crowned by Victory; grain of barley in front.
- Rev.*—Date palm and inscr. **𐤕𐤕𐤓𐤕𐤕𐤕**. *Kart-Chadasut* . . . . . 2
51. *Obv.*—Same. Traces of inscr. beneath horse.
- Rev.*—Same, but no inscr. . . . . 1

52. *Obv.*—Same inscr. *Kart-Chadasat* beneath horse.  
*Rev.*—Same inscr.  (*Machanat.*) . . . 2
53. *Obv.*—Forepart of horse without bridle r., Victory above placing wreath on its head; grain of barley in front.  
*Rev.*—Same, inscr. *Kart-Chadasat* . . . 1
54. *Obv.*—Same, but to l.  
*Rev.*—Same, inscr. *Kart-Chadasat* . . . 1
55. *Obv.*—Same; two pedestalled cups beneath horse interrupting the inscr. *Kart Chadasat.*  
*Rev.*—Same, inscr. *Machanat* . . . 2
56. *Obv.*—Same.  
*Rev.*—Same, inscr. *Kart-Chadasat* . . . 1
57. *Obv.*—Free horse galloping r., crowned above by Victory.  
*Rev.*—Date palm . . . 4
58. *Obv.*—Female head with hair flying up and *opisthosphendoné*, copied from Syracusan type of Eukleidas (cf. No. 42) (*Salinas* reads **K** . . . on the ampyx, and  = *Ziz*, in front of head.)  
*Rev.*—Gallopig quadriga. In ex. mæander . . . 1
59. *Obv.*—Female head in net, copied from Kimôn's early "medallion," type II.  
*Rev.*—Gallopig quadriga, &c. In ex. hippocamp, and inscr.  . . . 2
60. *Obv.*—Female head in net, copied from Kimôn's later "medallion," type II.  
*Rev.*—Same . . . 1
61. *Obv.*—Female head to l., with diadem, on front of which is a *Swastika*.  
*Rev.*—Same . . . 5
62. *Obv.*—Same, higher relief.  
*Rev.*—Same . . . 1

(The Siculo-Punic coins were all in a fine state of preservation.)

## ANALYSIS OF HOARD.

Athens . . . . .	2	Brought forward . . . . .	24
Leukas . . . . .	1	Himera . . . . .	1
(Several others not described)		Leontini . . . . .	3
Rhégion . . . . .	2	Messana . . . . .	15
Akragas . . . . .	2	Motya . . . . .	6
Kamarina . . . . .	1	Segesta . . . . .	1
Katanê . . . . .	3	Selinûs . . . . .	1
Gela . . . . .	9	Syracuse . . . . .	26
Eryx . . . . .	4	Siculo-Punic . . . . .	24
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	24		101

Professor Salinas,<sup>3</sup> noting that the later of the two tetradrachms of Rhégion found, though in brilliant condition, only weighs 15.22 grammes instead of the normal weight of somewhat over 17 grammes, attempts to explain this deficiency by a financial expedient recorded of Dionysios.

Aristotle,<sup>4</sup> after relating the shameful behaviour of Dionysios to the Rhégians, whom he first plundered and then despite his promises sold into slavery, proceeds in the following paragraph to relate how he cheated "the citizens" by levying a forced loan on them and repaying it in money stamped in such a way that every drachm had a fictitious value attached to it of two drachms. This passage Garrucci,<sup>5</sup> Sambon,<sup>6</sup> and after them Salinas, apply to the Rhégians, but as shown above<sup>7</sup> the *πολιται* referred to are Dionysios' own citizens, the Syracusans. The Rhégians had been already treated in a much more drastic fashion. The transaction mentioned by Aristotle could not indeed in any case be taken to explain the comparatively slight deficiency of weight in the present tetradrachm. Dionysios' fraud was of a much more wholesale character, and brought him in 100 per cent. profit, not merely 12 per cent., as in this instance. The words of Aristotle, moreover, do not at all imply that Dionysios went through the expensive and tedious process of issuing a new

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 10, 11.

<sup>4</sup> *Oeconomica*, II. xx.

<sup>5</sup> *Le Monete dell'Italia Antica*, p. 162.

<sup>6</sup> *Recherches sur les Anciennes Monnaies de l'Italie Méridionale*, pp. 215, 221.

<sup>7</sup> See p. 357.

coinage, but rather that he countermarked<sup>8</sup> in a certain way the existing coins. The tetradrachm itself, which still displays the earlier orthography **PHFINON**, is by no means the latest of the Rhêgian series,<sup>9</sup> and should on grounds of style be referred to a date many years earlier than Dionysios' capture of the city.

The solitary argument adduced for bringing down the date of the deposit of this hoard to after 387 B.C., the date of the capture of Rhêgion, will not bear the test of examination. It is, indeed, in the highest degree improbable that any tetradrachms at all were struck at Rhêgion so late as the above date.

However this light-weight Rhêgian coin is to be explained, it is evident from a general survey of the contents of the hoard that it was withdrawn from circulation at a considerably earlier date.

Amongst 66 Sicilian Greek coins found in this deposit, including specimens from Akragas, Kamarina, Katanê, Gela, Eryx, Himera, Leontini, Messana, Segesta, Selinûs, and Syracuse, **Ω** appeared only on a single coin (out of 15) of Messana, and on two tetradrachms and four dekadrachms of Syracuse. The coin of Messana on which it appears is the remarkable piece bearing Kimôn's signature on the exergual line of the reverse, and the design of the biga of mules here executed by this artist seems to me to be distinctly earlier in style than that which appears on his earliest dekadrachms. This coin is therefore in all probability not later than about 418 B.C. The three "medallions" of Evænetos found belong to his earlier works of this class.

Among the coins found of Akragas, Gela, Kamarina, Katanê, Himera, and Selinûs, in no case were the latest types of these cities represented.

Making every allowance for the comparative rarity of the later issues belonging to the troubled period of Sicilian history that begins with the Carthaginian invasion of 409, as also for the fact that this hoard was found in the Western and Punic or Elymian part of the Island, it seems impossible, in view of this conspicuous deficiency in the latest types of so many cities, to bring down the date of this deposit much later, say, than the overthrow of Akragas and Gela in 406—5 B.C.

Among the latest coins found in the hoard are, as might be expected, the brilliantly preserved Siculo-Punic series, with the

<sup>8</sup> "ἐπικόψας χαρακτῆρα."

<sup>9</sup> Cf., for instance, the type published by Dr. Imhoof-Blumer, *Monnaies Grecques*, Pl. A, 9.



legends *Kärt-Chadasat* and *Machanat*, representing the first issues of the Carthaginian "camp money," struck about 406—405 B.C. To these must be added the equally well-preserved coins of Motya with Phœnician legends, and those inscribed *Ziz*, which must in all probability be referred to the Panormitis.

The imitations of both the first and second types of Kimôn's dekadrachms which appear on these latter, show that the deposit must have taken place some few years at least after the earlier issues of the Syracusan "medallions" by this artist. The brilliant condition of all the Siculo-Punic coins discovered forbids us, however, to believe that any of them had been long in circulation at the time when this hoard was deposited.

On the other hand, the noteworthy absence of that numerous class of Siculo-Punic coins presenting copies of the head of Korê on the "medallions" of Evænetos, makes it improbable that the hoard was deposited after 398 B.C., about which date the Carthaginian coins rendering artistic homage to the Persephonê of Syracuse were in all probability first issued.

Taking one indication with another, we may regard 400 B.C. as approximately the latest date at which this West Sicilian hoard could have been withdrawn from circulation.

## ON THE DATE OF THE GREAT NAXOS DEPOSIT.

It has been assumed by Padre Giuseppe Romano (*Sopra alcune Monete scoperte in Sicilia*, Paris, 1862), and by Professor Salinas (*Notizie degli Scavi*, 1888, p. 302), that the great hoard of over two thousand Sicilian Greek coins discovered on the site of Naxos (Schisò) in 1853, was deposited at the time of Dionysios' destruction of that city (c. 403 B.C.). Were this view correct, the entire absence of Syracusan dekadrachms in this deposit might be urged as an argument for bringing down their first emission at least to the last three years of the Fifth Century.

Miserable, however, as are our sources for the contents of this great hoard, they at least afford conclusive evidence that it was withdrawn from circulation several years before 403.

The first account of this discovery was given in a short communication to the Roman Institute by Padre Pogwisch (*Bull. dell' Inst.*, 1853, p. 154), which was afterwards supplemented (*Bull. dell. Inst.*, 1853, pp. 155—7) by a somewhat fuller, though quite summary, report by Don Giuseppe Cacopardi, who, however, groups another find recently made at Reggio with the Naxos hoard.

In 1854 Riccio (*Bull. dell' Inst.*, 1854, p. xxxix. *seqq.*) basing his account on various consignments of recently discovered coins that had passed through his hands at Naples, gave what professed to be an account of three finds made in 1852—3 in the neighbourhood of Reggio, Messina, and on the site of Naxos. Riccio, however, once more jumbles the separate finds into one account, and even this strange hotch-potch is not, as far as can be judged, very scrupulously described—witness his splendidly vague citation of Castelli's plates. To cap this discreditable performance, moreover, he throws in with the rest yet another find that had been recently made at Noto, consisting chiefly of coins of Hierôn II. and Philistis (Cf. Romano, *op. cit.*, p. 51). Finally, Cavedoni (*Bull. dell' Inst.*, 1855, viii.) gravely supplies a commentary on Riccio's jumble without

detecting anything remarkable in the mixture of the finest Fifth Century types with those of a date two centuries later, or even observing the absence of intermediate issues.

To arrive at a basis for obtaining some knowledge of the latest types in the Naxos hoard, we have the following considerations to guide us:—

1. The Reggio hoard is described by Cacopardi as consisting exclusively of "bigas" (*sic*). It follows, therefore, that the coins described as exhibiting "quadrigas," i.e. displaying the four horses clearly distinguishable from their high action, belong to one of the other finds.
2. The Noto coins consisting of Hierôns, *Philistideia*, Ptolemies, &c., may be easily eliminated.
3. In the case of Riccio's jumble the Messina hoard still remains an unknown quantity.<sup>1</sup> It is obvious, however, that when (the Third Century coins of the Noto find having been eliminated) the types of any city do not come down to a certain date, it shows that the examples of those types represented in the Naxos find do not come down *beyond* this term, though they do not necessarily reach down to it.

The crucial test of the date of the Naxos deposit is certainly supplied by the coins belonging to Naxos itself, which were specially numerous. Of those described by Cacopardi, there were many of "*seconda grandezza*," representing Dionysos in "Etruscan style," in other words, the earliest of the Naxian types struck before c. B.C. 480. The next class, with the head of Dionysos in Transitional style, was also numerously represented. Of those of the finest style, upon which the head of Dionysos is seen surrounded with an ornamental diadem, Cacopardi only noticed a single example. Out of 170 Naxian coins seen by Riccio there were about 20 of the earliest class with the pointed beard, but the bulk were of the Transitional style. Only 6 were of the fine period. From both accounts it appears that not only were the tetradrachms of the fine style very sparsely represented, but that the later Naxian types, on which the ivy-crowned head of the young Dionysos and the laureate head of Apollo make their appearance, were entirely absent.

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<sup>1</sup> Cacopardi seems to regard the coins found near Messina as of very late date, bordering, in fact, on the Norman period. Riccio, however, leads us to infer that a find of early Greek coins had been made at Messina.

The bulk of the Katanæan coins again were of the ordinary, *i.e.* Transitional style. There were two or three examples of later coins engraved by Evænetos in his early "manner" (the head of Amenanos and of Apollo with Delphic fillet). Two facing heads occur, but full-facing heads had appeared at Selinûs and Syracuse before 409. The works of Hêrakleidas and Choiriôn that characterize the last period of the Katanæan coinage, were apparently conspicuous by their absence.

The quick quadrigas of Himera struck by 409 B.C. were unrepresented. The only coin of Eryx was a small Transitional piece, and no tetradrachm was found. The coins of Segesta seem to have been mostly of earlier types, and no tetradrachms of this city occurred.

Not a single gold piece was found ; but the gold coinage had been introduced at Akragas, Gela, and Syracuse, about the time of the Athenian siege, or earlier.

On all these grounds it seems to me that it would be highly unsafe to bring down the date of the Naxos deposit later than 410 B.C. The account of the Syracusan coins discovered in the hoard is vague and unsatisfactory—Riccio referring to whole pages of Castelli at a time! It appears certain, however, that one specimen of Eukleidas' tetradrachm with the three-quarter head of Pallas was discovered : an interesting indication of the comparatively early date of this type. As a matter of fact, this design by Eukleidas is coupled at times with a reverse design, probably from the hand of Evarchidas, and greatly resembling those in which Nikê holds an aplustre, in commemoration of the sea victory over the Athenians in 413 B.C.

## XV.

### ENGLISH PERSONAL MEDALS FROM 1760.

(Continued from page 104.)

(See Pl. XVI.)

SAMUEL GARBETT.

MEMORIAL, 1796.

*Obv.*—Bust to right, in tie-wig, close-fitting coat, &c.  
*Leg.* SAMUEL GARBETT.

*Rev.*—Plain. Wreath edge.

1.1. MB. Æ. Æ.

This is probably the unfinished *flan* for a half-penny token. It is supposed to have been executed by J. G. Hancock. I have not been able to find any particulars about Samuel Garbett.

ALAN, ADMIRAL LORD GARDNER, 1742—1809.

HIS ELECTION FOR WESTMINSTER, 1796.

*Obv.*—Small full-length figure of Admiral Gardner, standing facing, in uniform; his left foot tramples on the tri-colour, his right hand rests on cannon behind him. *Inner Leg.* ADMIRAL GARDNER.  
*Outer Leg.* WORTHY THE FLEET OR  
THE SENATE. ELECTION TOKEN.

*Rev.*—A fox holding staff with his paws and in his mouth scroll inscribed NO MAJESTY BUT THAT OF THE PEOPLE, standing on three blocks of stone inscribed CORRESPOND<sup>g</sup> SOCIETY, RIGHTS OF MAN, WHIG CLUB; the top-most of the three blocks is propped up by another inscribed SEDITION and is held by a man in academical dress, from whose mouth proceeds

a scroll, on which is written THIS IS YOUR ONLY PROP. On left is an obelisk surmounted by crown, sword, and sceptre, and inscribed BILL OF RIGHT MAG CHA; on either side, oak leaves. *Leg.* SOME OF THE FOXES TRICKS ON A WESTMINSTER POLL. In the exergue, 1796.

1-3. MB. Æ.

Alan, Lord Gardner, Admiral, son of Lieut.-Colonel Gardner, born at Uttoxeter, in Staffordshire, entered the Navy at the age of fourteen, and saw much service till 1762, when he was appointed Commander of the fireship *Raven*. In 1778 he was sent to join Lord Howe, on the coast of North America, and brought to that Commander the first intelligence of the approach of the French fleet. He took an active part in the battle of Grenada, 6th July, 1779, and in 1781 accompanied Sir George Rodney to the West Indies, when he shared in the glories of the 12th April, 1782. Returning to England he was appointed to a seat at the Board of Admiralty, sat in Parliament for Plymouth, and later on, in 1796, was returned for Westminster. Gardner was present in Lord Howe's action of the 12th June, 1794, and for his services on that occasion was created a baronet. At the time of the mutiny at Spithead, in 1795, he had his flag in the *Royal Sovereign*, and on that occasion he is said to have lost his temper, and handled rather severely one of the delegates on board the *Queen Charlotte*. He was promoted to be Admiral of the Blue in 1799, appointed Commander-in-Chief on the coast of Ireland in the following year, and soon after created a peer of Ireland by the title of Baron Gardner, and in 1806 raised to the dignity of a peer of the United Kingdom as Baron Gardner of Uttoxeter. Gardner sat in parliament for

Plymouth from 1790—1796, and for Westminster from 1796—1806. His chief opponent at the general election of 1796 was Charles James Fox, who headed the poll. He died 1st January, 1809.

### DAVID GARRICK, 1716—1779.

#### TRIBUTE TO, 1772.

1. *Obv.*—Bust of Garrick to right, draped, hair *en queue*.  
*Leg.* DAVID GARRICK . L . PINGO . F.

*Rev.*—Figure of Music standing facing, between Tragedy on left and Comedy on right. *Leg.* HE UNITED ALL YOUR POWERS. In the exergue, MDCCLXXII.

1.55. MB. R. Æ. Pl. XVI. 1.

The silver specimen has a ring for suspension, and the edge is inscribed JAMES WILLIAM DODD TO HIS FRIEND CAPT. JOHN FOX.

David Garrick, "the greatest of English actors," born at Hereford, 28th Feb., 1716, was educated at Lichfield under Dr. Johnson, with whom, in 1736, he set out for London, where both arrived with only a few pence in their pockets. Garrick adopted the stage as a profession, and in 1741 made his *début* at Ipswich in the tragedy of *Oroonoko*. In the same year he appeared for the first time on the London stage at the Goodman's Fields Theatre as Richard III. Pope thus described him to Lord Orrery, "That young man never had his equal as an actor, and never will have a rival." When, in 1742, he was acting in Dublin, the crowds that gathered to see him were so great as to produce an epidemic called in jest "the Garrick fever." In 1747 he became joint-patentee of Drury Lane, and sole-patentee in 1773. The powers of Garrick were universal, excelling equally in

the sublimest tragedy, the most refined comedy, and the broadest farce. He died 20th January, 1779, and was buried in Westminster Abbey. At the time that this and the following medal were struck, Garrick was at the height of his popularity.

#### TRIBUTE TO, 1772.

2. *Obv.*—Bust of Garrick to left, in doublet, with lace collar.  
*Leg.* DAVID GARRICK. I . KIRK . F.

*Rev.*—Musical instruments, crown, books, masks, and other theatrical properties. *Leg.* THE ENGLISH ACTOR. In the exergue, MDCCLXXII.

1.5. MB. Æ.

#### MEMORIAL, 1773.

3. *Obv.*—Bust of Garrick to left, in close-fitting cloak and tie-wig. Below, KIRK . F.

*Rev.*—Inscription in three lines, D. GARRICK ESQUIRE  
1773.

1. MB. Æ.

This medalet is one of a series of thirteen which were given away with as many numbers of a magazine called *The Sentimental*, published in the years 1773—1775. Some were struck in silver and given as prizes.

#### HIS RETIREMENT, 1776.

4. *Obv.*—Bust of Garrick to left, in embroidered coat, waistcoat and tie-wig. *Leg.* DAVID GARRICK.  
I . KIRK . F.

*Rev.*—Musical instruments, crown, &c., similar to No. 2.  
*Leg.* ILLE HISTRIO ANGLICANUM (*sic*). In the exergue, MDCCLXXVI. I . KIRK . F. The whole within floral border.

1.45. MB. Æ.

This medalet was probably struck to commemorate Garrick's retirement from the stage. During the spring



of 1776 he played for the last time a round of his favourite characters. His last appearance on the stage was made on the 10th June as Don Felix in *The Wonder*.

GENERAL ISAAC GASCOYNE, 1770—1841.

LIVERPOOL ELECTION, 1812.

*Obv.*—Inscription in two lines, GENERAL GASCOYNE.  
Above and below, oak and rose branches.

*Rev.*—Inscription in three lines, TOWN & TRADE OF  
LIVERPOOL. Above and below, oak and rose  
branches.

1·8. MB. ST.

Isaac Gascoyne, third son of Bamber Gascoyne the elder, and grandson of Sir Crisp Gascoyne, was appointed an ensign in the 20th foot, and being transferred to the Coldstream Guards, served in the West Indies and in Flanders, being present in the brilliant engagement at Lincelles in 1793, where he was wounded, and again when covering the retreat of Sir Ralph Abercromby's corps from Monvaix to Roubaix in the following year. He subsequently commanded in Ireland at the close of the rebellion, and in 1808 was promoted to the rank of Lieut.-General, being then in command of the Severn district. Gascoyne, who had a seat at Raby Hall, near Liverpool, was returned to Parliament for that borough in 1796, and on seven subsequent occasions. The contest at Liverpool in 1812 was a very severe one, and excited much interest throughout the country, as on the side of the Tories were George Canning and General Gascoyne, and on that of the Whigs, Henry Brougham, Thomas Creevey, and Mr. Tarleton. Canning and Gascoyne.

headed the poll. In politics he was a strong Conservative, and a consistent supporter of all measures for benefiting the army. He died at his residence, 71, South Audley Street, 26th August, 1841.

### BENJAMIN GASKELL.

MALDON CHARTER CLUB, 1810.

*Obv.*—Arms of Maldon, within badge of the Garter, surmounted by crest, a bird holding branch; the field is radiate.

*Rev.*—Inscription around, and in seven lines across field,  
CHARTER RESTORED TO THE BORO' OF  
MALDON BY BENJAMIN GASKELL ESQ.  
AND THE REST OF THE CHARTER CLUB  
9th OCT<sup>R</sup>. 1810.

145. MB. R.

The charters of incorporation given by Henry II. and Mary to Maldon were forfeited in the fourth year of George III., and the town remained without a charter for forty-six years.

CHARLES LEWIS METZLER VON GIESECKE, 1761—1833.

HIS ARCTIC VOYAGES, 1817.

*Obv.*—Bust of Giesecke to right; on shoulder, mossop. f.  
*Leg.* C . L . GIESECKE . EQV . AVRAT .  
MIN. PROF. S. HON. S.D.A. HIB. R. S. &c.

*Rev.*—Bear in the foreground; in the distance, sea and icebergs. *Leg.* HYEMES . VII . SUB . ARCTO .  
TOLERAVIT . INGENTI . NATURÆ . PER-  
CULSUS . AMORE . MDCCCXVII.

17. MB. Æ. Pl. XVI. 2.

Charles Lewis Metzler von Giesecke, a distinguished mineralogist and collector, son of a wine merchant of the

name of Metzler, at Augsburg, where he was born, 6th April, 1761, studied at the University of Göttingen, and soon earned a great reputation as a mineralogist. He assumed in his youth his mother's name of Giesecke. After visiting the various mines of Northern Europe, he entered the Austrian service, and his appointment as Assistant-Secretary to Prince Metternich, at Constantinople, afforded him an opportunity of visiting the mineral districts of Eastern Europe, in 1805. Charles VII., of Denmark, sent him in 1805 on a geographical and mineralogical survey to Greenland. In 1811, Giesecke shipped a quantity of valuable minerals for Copenhagen, but these being captured by a French privateer, and re-taken by an English vessel, were conveyed to Leith and sold, a portion being purchased by the Dublin Society to enrich their museum. When Giesecke landed at Hull, in 1813, he heard of the fate of his former cargo, and proceeded to Edinburgh to reclaim them. As the Dublin Society was about to establish a professorship of mineralogy, they had the justice to acknowledge Giesecke's claim, and in order to make some compensation for his unjust treatment, they appointed him Professor of Mineralogy and Director of the Museum, in December, 1813. Before entering on his duties, Giesecke visited Denmark, and was knighted by Frederick VI. In 1817, he visited the Continent for the purpose of collecting mineralogical specimens for his Museum, and returning to Ireland in 1819, did not again leave that country. He died at Dublin, 5th March, 1833. This medal was struck by the Dublin Society in his honour, and as an acknowledgment of his services.

JAMES WILLIAM GILBART, F.R.S. 1794—1863.

FOUNDATION OF THE LONDON AND WESTMINSTER BANK COMMEMORATED, 1834.

*Obv.*—Head of Gilbert to left, bare; on neck, W. J. TAYLOR; below, Æ. 59. *Leg.* J. W. GILBART, F.R.S. THE FIRST MANAGER OF THE FIRST JOINT STOCK BANK ESTABLISHED IN LONDON.

*Rev.*—Inscription in fourteen lines, THE LONDON & WESTMINSTER BANK OPENED MAR. 10, 1834. WESTMINSTER BRANCH MAR. 10, 1834. BLOOMSBURY BRANCH JAN. 4, 1836. EASTERN BRANCH JAN. 4, 1836. SOUTHWARK BRANCH FEB. 29, 1836. ST. MARY-LE-BONE BRANCH JUNE 15, 1836. WORKS BY J. W. GILBART, F.R.S. A PRACTICAL TREATISE ON BANKING. THE HISTORY & PRINCIPLES OF BANKING. LECTURES ON ANCIENT COMMERCE. LOGIC FOR THE MILLION. 1853.

2. MB. Æ. Pl. XVI. 3.

James William Gilbert, of Cornish extraction, was born in London, 12th March, 1794; and at an early age entered a London banking-house, in which he remained till its failure in 1825. Two years later he published his *Practical Treatise on Banking*, and soon after was appointed manager of the branch of the Provincial Bank of Ireland at Kilkenny, and later at Waterford. When joint-stock banks were established in London, there was a competition for his services, and he agreed to become manager of the London and Westminster, 10th October, 1833, the bank opening its doors 10th March, 1834. He held that office till 1860, and on his retirement was elected a director. During his term of office he managed the affairs of the bank with great success, and was mainly instrumental in the passing of the Bank Charter Act of 1844, which enacted that joint-stock banks could sue and be sued by their public officer, and could accept bills at six months after

date. As a member of the Statistical Society, he took a prominent part in the International Statistical Congress of 1860. He was also a Fellow of the Royal Society. Died at Brompton Crescent, 8th August, 1863. Gilbert was the author of numerous works and pamphlets on Banking, Commerce, the Law of Currency, &c.

THE RIGHT HON. WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE, M.P.

HIS SEVENTIETH BIRTHDAY, 1879.

*Obv.*—Bust of Gladstone to right, in frock-coat, &c. ; on shoulder, L. C. WYON. F. *Leg.* WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE AET. 70.

*Rev.*—Within wreath of palm and olive branches, 29TH DECEMBER 1879—LIVERPOOL—. Around, SERUS IN COELUM REDEAS DIUQUE LAETUS INTERSIS POPULO. HUNT & ROSKELL D.

1·7. MB. Æ. Pl. XVI, 4.

This medal was struck to commemorate the seventieth anniversary of Mr. Gladstone's birthday. On the 29th December, a great reception was given to him at Liverpool, when he was presented by the Liberal Association with an address and a silver casket.

TRIBUTE TO, 1882.

2. *Obv.*—Bust of Gladstone, three-quarters to right. *Leg.* W. E. GLADSTONE 1882.

*Rev.*—Inscription in one line, FIDE . ET . VIRTUTE.

4·4. MB. Æ. *Cast.*

This large medal was executed by Prof. Legros. It is modelled and cast after the style of the Italian medals of the fifteenth century.

## LORD GEORGE GORDON, 1751—1793.

## No POPERY RIOTS, 1780.

1. *Obv.*—Bust of Lord George Gordon to left, in broad-brimmed hat and coat.

*Rev.*—Inscription, LORD GEORGE GORDON, 1780.

1·15. MB. Æ.

Lord George Gordon, political agitator, son of Cosmo George, third Duke of Gordon, born 26th December, 1751, entered the navy when young, but quitted it on account of some dispute with Lord Sandwich. In 1794, Gordon took his seat in Parliament for Ludgershall, and soon distinguished himself by some strange speeches against the ministry; but what brought him into notice was his opposition to the bill for granting further toleration to Catholics, he being at that time President of the Protestant Association. His intemperance on this occasion proved the cause of the "No Popery Riots" in 1780, for which he was tried and acquitted (see the next medal). In 1786, he took up the cause of Cagliostro, who had come to England after the "diamond necklace" affair, and published a couple of paragraphs in the *Public Advertiser*, for which in June he was convicted of libel, but escaping to Amsterdam, eluded capture. A little time after he returned to England, and was captured at Birmingham in the disguise of a Jew, whose religion he had adopted, and was committed to Newgate, where he died 1st November, 1793. His last moments were embittered by the knowledge that he could not be buried among the Jews, although he had zealously performed the rites and duties of their religion.

## HIS TRIAL AND ACQUITTAL, 1781.

2. *Obv.*—Bust of Lord George Gordon to left, in close-fitting coat. *Leg.* L. G. G. P. P. A.

*Rev.*—Within ornamented compartment, inscription in seven lines, L. GEO. GORDON TRIED AND HONOURABLY ACQUITTED BY A VIRTUOUS JURY FEB<sup>RY</sup> 5 1781.

1·7. MB. Æ. Pl. XVI, 5.

## HIS DEATH, 1793.

3. *Obv.*—Bust of Lord George Gordon to left, in broad-brimmed hat and coat. *Leg.* LD GEO GORDON DIED IN NEWGATE NOV 1 1793.

*Rev.*—Façade of building. *Leg.* SESSIONS HOUSE OLD BAILY.

1·15. MB. Æ.

There is in the Museum a specimen of this medalet which has, for reverse type, the obverse type incuse.

## SIR WILLIAM DUFF GORDON, BART., 1772—1823.

## WORCESTER ELECTION, 1818.

*Obv.*—Inscription in two lines, between oak and rose branches, SIR . W . D . GORDON.

*Rev.*—Inscription in five lines, between oak and rose branches, THE ZEALOUS SUPPORTER OF THE COMMERCIAL INTEREST OF THE COUNTRY.

1·75. MB. ST.

At the Worcester election in 1818, the candidates were Sir William Gordon, who had represented the borough during the last twelve years, Lord Deerhurst, and Col. Davies. The contest was a severe one, and the successful candidates were Lord Deerhurst and Col. Davies. Sir William Gordon, who had retired during the contest, was somewhat unpopular in the borough, because he had

absented himself from the House for long periods during the previous Parliament, and had also voted against Brougham's motion for a commission to inquire into the public funds.

Sir William Duff Gordon was the son of Alexander Gordon, third son of William, Earl of Aberdeen. On the decease of his uncle, Sir James Duff, in 1815, he succeeded to the baronetcy, and was authorized by royal licence to take the name and arms of Duff, in addition to that of Gordon. He died 8th March, 1823.

### JOHN GOULD.

BEVERLEY BROTHERLY SOCIETY, ESTABLISHED 1776.

*Obv.*—Arms of Beverley. (?) *Leg.* THE . BEVERLEY .  
BROTHERLY . SOCIETY . ESTABLISHED .  
1776.

*Rev.*—Inscription in two lines, JOHN GOULD FATHER.  
1.4. MB. Æ.

This Society was founded for protecting the interests of the city of Beverley both commercially and morally. In 1820 it numbered nearly 400 members.

JOHN MANNERS, MARQUIS OF GRANBY, 1721—1770.

BATTLE OF MINDEN, 1759.

1. *Obv.*—Bust of Granby to right, in armour; ribbon of the Garter. *Leg.* THE MARQUIS OF GRANBY  
❀ THE BRITISH HERO ❀

*Rev.*—Heart surmounted by crown, between olive branches.

1.05. MB. Æ.

John Manners, Marquis of Granby, the eldest son of John, third Duke of Rutland, was educated at Eton and Cambridge, and entering the army, raised a regiment of foot at his own expense, to serve against the rebellion of



1745, and accompanied the Duke of Cumberland into Scotland. In 1759, he obtained the rank of Lieutenant-General, and went to Germany as second in command under Lord George Sackville, whom he succeeded as commander-in-chief after the battle of Minden. He greatly distinguished himself throughout the Seven Years' War, more particularly at the battle of Warburg in 1760, at Kirchdenkern in 1761, and at Graebenstein and Homburg in 1762. After the peace of 1763, he was named Master-General of the Ordnance, and in 1766 Commander-in-Chief of the army. He died 20th October, 1770.

At the battle of Minden, when Lord George Sackville hesitated to charge the retreating French according to orders sent by Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, the Marquis of Granby, who commanded the second line, made the advance and acted with such alacrity, that he almost recovered the opportunity lost by his chief in command. For his prompt action he was highly commended by Prince Ferdinand, who paid him the compliment by saying, that "if he had had him at the head of the cavalry of the right wing, the decision of that day would have been more complete and brilliant." This action added much to the popularity of Granby, which was not lessened by his attitude at the subsequent trial of Lord George, when his testimony was marked by compassionate tenderness, softening and suppressing so far as truth allowed all evidence brought against the prisoner; this tenderness being the more admired since at the army Granby and Sackville had been far from friends.

APPOINTED A MEMBER OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL, 1760.

2. *Obv.*—Bust of Granby to left, in scale armour, ornamented with lion's head on shoulder, and mantle;

head bare. *Leg.* THE RIGHT HONORABLE  
THE MARQUIS OF GRANBY.

*Rev.*—Monogram of J. MANNERS.

4. MB. Æ.

From the age of the portrait, this medal was most probably struck to commemorate Granby's appointment as a member of the Privy Council which took place in 1760, during his absence at the head of his troops in Germany.

#### SUCCESSSES OF 1760 AND 1761.

3. *Obv.*—Granby on horseback to left, sword in right hand; horse galloping. *Leg.* TO THE MARQUIS OF GRANBY. HASTE . AWAY.

*Rev.*—Trophy of arms, flags, &c. *Leg.* A TROPHY OF ARMS. In the exergue, 1761.

1·3. MB. Æ.

This medal evidently refers to the important battles of Warburg and Kirchdenkern. It is a cheap medalet, made for sale in the streets. The Marquis of Granby was very popular at this period, as is evidenced by the frequency with which his portrait was used as a sign to public-houses.

#### PRIZE MEDAL, 1765.

4. *Obv.*—Bust of George III. to right, laureate: on neck, T . PINGO . F. *Leg.* AVSPICIIS GEORG. III. OPT . PRINC . P . P.

*Rev.*—Minerva standing towards left, leaning on spear and holding palm branch in right hand: at her feet, owl and shield. *Leg.* PREMIA LAVDI. In the exergue, D. M. GRANBY MAG. GEN. ORD. MDCCLXV.

1·4. MB. R. Æ.

#### HIS DEATH, 1770.

5. *Obv.*—Bust of Granby to right, in scale armour; head bare: on shoulder, L . PINGO . F. *Leg.* GRANBY. DENAT. A.D. 1770. ÆT. 50.

*Rev.*—Within radiate laurel wreath, inscription in three lines, COM. MILITVM AMOR.

1.6. MB. Æ. Pl. XVI, 6.

#### HIS DEATH, 1770.

6. *Obv.*—Bust of Granby to left, draped; head bare. Below, L. P. F. (L. Pingo fecit). *Leg.* GRANBY.

*Rev.*—Soldier seated to left, looking right, holding spear in right hand and resting left arm on shield which bears the arms of Manners and is placed on cannon and French flags. *Leg.* MILITVM DVX ET AMICVS. In the exergue, NAT. MDCCXX. M. MDCCLXX.

1.55. MB. R. Æ.

#### MEMORIAL, 1774.

7. *Obv.*—Bust of Granby to left, in military dress; head bare: in field, KIRK FEC.

*Rev.*—Inscription in four lines, MARQUIS OF GRANBY 1774.

1. MB. Æ.

A medalet of the same series as that of Garrick, described at p. 380, No. 3.

#### ANNA JULIA, LADY GRANT DUFF.

PRIZE MEDAL OF THE MADRAS MEDICAL COLLEGE, 1886.

*Obv.*—Bust of Lady Grant Duff to right. *Leg.* ANNA JULIA GRANT DUFF.

*Rev.*—Within olive wreath, inscription in eight lines, TO THE BEST FEMALE STUDENT THE LADY GRANT DUFF MEDAL FOUNDED BY HINDU AND MUHAMMADAN LADIES MDCCCLXXXVI.

1.9. MB. R. Pl. XVI, 7.

This medal, in gold of the value of £10, is presented annually to the best female student of the College. The prize was founded in 1886 by Lady Grant Duff, wife of

the Rt. Hon. Sir Mountstuart Grant Duff, late Governor of Madras. The obverse was modelled by the Countess Feodora Gleichen, and the reverse by Miss M. Berry. From these models dies were executed by Mr. John Pinches, the engraver.

### HENRY GRATTAN, 1746—1820.

#### HIS DEATH, 1820.

1. *Obv.*—Bust of Grattan to right, draped; on shoulder, MOSSOP. *Leg.* HENRICVS GRATTAN.

*Rev.*—Within wreath of oak and laurel entwined with shamrock, inscription in six lines, PRO PATRIA ET VIVERE ET MORI. Below, NATVS DVB: 1746. OB. LOND: 1820.

155. MB. Æ. Pl. XVI. 8.

Henry Grattan, Statesman, was a native of Dublin, of which city his father was Recorder. He studied for the bar, but soon relinquished that profession for the senate, being elected into the Irish Parliament in 1775. By his powerful eloquence he obtained for his country a participation in the Commerce of Britain, and in 1790, being returned for the city of Dublin, he became the active leader of the Opposition till the Union, which measure he resisted with all his eloquence, but when it was effected he accepted a seat in the Imperial Parliament for Malton. He supported the Government during the war; but his principal exertions were called forth to advocate the Catholic claims; and he fell a martyr to the cause by leaving Ireland in an exhausted state to carry the petition, with which he was entrusted, to England. He died soon after his arrival in London, 14th May, 1820, and was buried in Westminster Abbey.

The above medal is one of Mossop's series of illustrious

Irishmen. It was struck in 1821, and is the only one of the entire number of which he finished and hardened the dies and struck impressions.

MEMORIAL, 1827.

2. *Obv.*—Bust of Grattan to right, draped. Below, GALLE F.  
*Leg.* HENRY GRATTAN.

*Rev.*—Inscription in nine lines, IN MEMORY OF THE  
SHORT PERIOD OF IRELAND'S INDE-  
PENDENCE.—“I SAT BY ITS CRADLE, I FOL-  
LOWED ITS HEARSE” GRATTAN.

1.9. MB. Æ.

The last portion of the inscription occurred in Grattan's maiden speech in the English House of Commons, in which he concisely summed up the result of his own labours in the Irish Parliament. “Of that assembly I have a parental recollection. *I sate by her cradle, I followed her hearse.* In fourteen years she acquired for Ireland what you did not acquire for England in a century—freedom of trade, independency of the legislature, independency of the judges, restoration of the final judicature, repeal of a perpetual Mutiny Bill, Habeas Corpus Act, Nullum Tempus Act, a great work !”

The above is one of a large series of medals of illustrious persons of all countries, issued by Denon, of Paris. The obverse is copied from the preceding medal by Mossop. Tom Moore went to Mossop, and having obtained a cast of his medal, sent it to Denon, at Paris, to be copied. In Moore's diary, under date 23rd September, 1832, mention is made of a visit to Denon's to pay the medallist one thousand francs, the price agreed for the medal; but the medallist insisted on fifty louis, and was paid that sum in English money. Finally, in the diary, 28th October,

1832, Moore mentions having gone to the Mint, received his fifty medals, and having the die broken. (*Memoirs*, vol. iii., p. 12.)

THOMAS GRAHAM, LORD LYNEDOCH, 1750—1843.

FRENCH COLOURS TAKEN AT BARROSA, 1811.

*Obv.*—Eagle facing and standing on scroll inscribed, BARROSA. Below, MARCH 5 1811. *Leg.* THE FRENCH IMPERIAL EAGLE.

*Rev.*—Inscription in seven lines, TAKEN AT BARROSA BY THE BRITISH TROOPS COMMANDED BY GEN<sup>L</sup>. GRAYHAM (*sic*).

1. MB. Æ. R. (base).

This medalet refers to the heroic vigour of General Graham, at Barrosa, in attacking a French force of much greater strength than his own. In less than an hour and a half from the commencement of the action the enemy was in full retreat on all parts, leaving behind an eagle, six pieces of cannon, many prisoners, and the field covered with arms and dead bodies. Although this battle was among the minor actions in the Peninsular War, yet in no instance was British valour more conspicuously displayed, and General Graham acquired universal approbation for the ability and firmness of his conduct, and, thenceforth, ranked amongst our most popular commanders. On his return to England, Graham was raised to the peerage by the title of Baron Lynedoch, of Balgowan, in Perthshire. Previous to the Peninsular War Graham had served with the British troops at Toulon, obtained a commission in the Austrian Army against the French on the Rhine in the campaign of 1796, took part in the reduction of Malta, and accompanied Sir

John Moore, as Aide-de-Camp, to Sweden in 1808, and subsequently to Spain. The last years of his life were passed in retirement in Italy.

# JOHN EDWARD AND MARIA EMMA GRAY.

MEMORIAL, 1868.

*Obv.*—Jugate busts of Dr. and Mrs. Gray to right; he, bare; she, with cap and drapery over shoulders. Behind, I. E. AND M. E. GRAY. Below, G. G. ADAMS, SC. 1868.

*Rev.*—Within laurel wreath, inscription in three lines, TRUST IN THE LORD AND DO GOOD.

2-25. MB. Æ. PL. XVI. 9.

John Edward Gray, the naturalist, born at Walsall, 12th February, 1800, was educated for the medical profession, but took to the study of natural history, and in 1824 was appointed an assistant in the Natural History Department of the British Museum, and rising by gradual promotion, succeeded, in 1840, to the post of Keeper of the Zoological Collection, which he held till 1875. He assisted in the foundation of the Zoological, Entomological, Geographical, Microscopical, and Palæontological Societies, was elected F.R.S. in 1832, and was a frequent contributor to the *Transactions* of these societies; besides being the author of numerous works on Natural History in all its branches. In 1826, he married Maria Emma Gray, the widow of his cousin, a lady who assisted him in all his studies, and who was the author of *Figures of Molluscan Animals, Selected from Various Authors*. Dr. Gray died in 1875, and Mrs. Gray in the following year.

## CHARLES GREEN, 1785—1870.

BALLOON JOURNEY FROM LONDON TO WEILBURG, 7 Nov., 1836.

*Obv.*—Head of Green to left; below, W. J. TAYLOR. *Leg.*  
CHARLES GREEN AERONAUT.

*Rev.*—View of Weilburg and the river Lahn; above city,  
balloon. *Leg.* FROM LONDON NOVEMBER  
7, 1836. In the exergue, IN COMPANY WITH  
ROBT. HOLLOND, M.P., & M. MASON, ESQ<sup>R</sup>.  
TO WEILBURG GERM<sup>Y</sup>. IN 18 HOURS.

165. MB. Æ. PL. XVI. 10.

Charles Green, aeronaut, son of Thomas Green, a fruiterer, who lived in the Goswell Road, entered his father's business on leaving school, but at an early age took great interest in all matters relating to ballooning. His first ascent was made from the Green Park, on 19th July, 1821, by order of the Government at the coronation of George IV., in a balloon filled with carburetted-hydrogen gas, he being the first person who ascended with a balloon so inflated. After that time he made 526 ascents. In 1836 he constructed the Great Nassau balloon for Gye and Hughes, proprietors of Vauxhall Gardens, from whom he subsequently purchased it. His third ascent in this balloon took place from Vauxhall Gardens on the 7th November, 1836. In this celebrated ascent he was accompanied by Robert Holland, M.P. for Hastings and Monck Mason. They left the gardens at 1.30 p.m., and crossing the Channel from Dover the same evening, descended the next day at 7 a.m., at Weilburg, in Nassau, Germany, having travelled altogether 500 miles in eighteen hours. During his long experience he made many improvements in ballooning. After living in retirement many years, he died at his residence in Tufnell Park, 26th March, 1870.



## RICHARD GREENE, 1716—1793.

MEMORIAL, 1800.

*Obv.*—Bust of Greene to left, in close-fitting coat and tie-wig: on shoulder, R. G. H. (John Gregory Hancock). *Leg.* RICHARD GREENE COLLECTOR OF THE LICHFIELD MUSEUM DIED JUNE 4 1793 AGED 77.

*Rev.*—View of porch. *Leg.* WEST PORCH OF LICHFIELD CATHEDRAL. In the exergue, 1800.

On edge, PENNY TOKEN PAYABLE BY RICHARD WRIGHT LICHFIELD.

1.45. MB. Æ.

Richard Greene, antiquary and collector of curiosities, was born at Lichfield, and was related to Dr. Johnson. He lived and died as a surgeon and apothecary, practising in his native place. He deposited his curiosities in the ancient registry office of the bishops, at Lichfield, and the fame of the collection spread far and wide. It was rich in coins, armour, crucifixes, watches, and specimens of natural history and ethnography. A few years after Greene's death, which occurred 4th June, 1793, the collection was broken up; the armour, which was especially fine, being incorporated with the Meyrick and Tower of London collections.

The above is a penny token issued by the town of Lichfield in 1800.

## WILLIAM WYNDHAM, LORD GRENVILLE, 1759—1834.

CHANCELLOR OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD, 1810.

*Obv.*—Inscription in seven lines, IN COMMEMORATION OF THE INSTALLATION OF LORD GRENVILLE AS CHANCELLOR OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD JULY 1810.

*Rev.*—Within laurel wreath, inscription in three lines,  
 TEMPLA QUAM DILECTA.

1.6. MB. Æ.

William Wyndham, Lord Grenville, third son of George Grenville, prime minister, entered Parliament, for Buckingham, in 1782, and through his friendship with Pitt, was appointed Paymaster-General in 1783, Speaker of the House of Commons and Home Secretary in 1789, and being removed to the House of Lords in 1790 by a patent of peerage, became there the echo of Pitt. He resigned with Pitt on the Catholic Emancipation question in 1801, afterwards formed the Opposition, and was Prime Minister of "All the Talents" 1806—7. After this time he held no public appointments, but continued his efforts for Catholic Emancipation. On the 14th December, 1809, Grenville was elected Chancellor of the University of Oxford, in the place of the Duke of Portland who had died in the previous October. The contest was a severe one, but the division of the Tory interest secured Grenville's election; the votes recorded for Grenville being 406, for Lord Eldon 393, and for the Duke of Beaufort 288. Grenville was created D.C.L. by diploma, on 23rd December, and was duly installed as Chancellor on the 10th July, 1810. He died 12th January, 1834.

SIR ROGER GRESLEY, BART., 1799—1837.

LICHFIELD ELECTION, 1826.

*Obv.*—Inscription in six lines, THE FREE AND UN-BOUGHT ELECTORS WHO VOTED FOR SIR ROGER GRESLEY BART. Above, branches of oak; below, branches of laurel.

*Rev.*—Inscription in nine lines, LICHFIELD ELECTION 1826 KING & CONSTITUTION — THE

TRUE BLUE INTEREST FOR EVER —  
OTTLEY MEDALLIST.

1·8. MB. ST.

This medal is pierced for suspension.

Sir Roger Gresley, or Greisley, as he usually wrote his name, was the son of Sir Nigel Bowyer Gresley, whom he succeeded in 1808. In 1826 Gresley made an unsuccessful attempt to obtain a seat in Parliament, at Lichfield, his successful opponents being Sir George Anson and Mr. G. G. V. Vernon. He was returned for Durham city in 1830, New Romney, in Kent, in 1831, and South Derbyshire in 1835; but failed at the election of July, 1837. He was a moderate Tory. He was the author of several works, mostly relating in some way to Catholic Emancipation, and an F.S.A. He died 12th October, 1837.

## SARAH GRETTON.

MEMORIAL, 1796.

*Obv.*—Bust of Sarah Gretton facing, draped. *Leg.* SARAH  
GRETTON NATA OB. DEC. 1796.

No reverse.

1·55. MB. lead. Pl. XVI 11.

This is a proof of an unfinished die. The inscription on the obverse is merely scratched in with a pointed instrument. I have not been able to find any further particulars about this lady nor to identify the medallist.

## CHARLES, SECOND EARL GREY, 1764—1845.

PRIME MINISTER, 1830.

1. *Obv.*—Head of Grey to left. *Leg.* EARL GREY.  
BRITONS BE TRUE TO YOUR KING.

*Rev.*—Horseman to right, attacked by two lions; the reins are loose and broken. *Leg.* BY TRAMP-LING ON LIBERTY I LOST THE REINS. 1830.

·85. MB. Æ.

Charles, Second Earl Grey, son of General Sir Charles Grey, first Earl, was educated at Eton and King's College, Cambridge, and at the age of twenty-one entered Parliament as member for Northumberland, joining the Whig party, of which he soon became one of the most prominent members. His first success as an orator was made as one of the managers of the impeachment of Warren Hastings, in which he was associated with Fox, Burke, and Sheridan. In 1792 he became a member of the great political confederation, known as the "Friends of the People," and subsequently promoted the "Secession." On the death of Pitt, in 1806, Grey, now Lord Howick, was appointed Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, but the Whig Ministry was soon dismissed, Parliament was dissolved, and on the death of Lord Howick's father, in 1807, he entered the upper House. Grey remained out of office till the abrupt termination of the Wellington Administration in 1830, when in obedience to the wish of William IV., he assumed the reins of Government, and during his four years of office had the supreme satisfaction of seeing the two measures, for which he had so long fought, successfully carried through Parliament, viz.: Parliamentary Reform, and the Abolition of Slavery in the British possessions. After his retirement he took no further part in politics, and spent his remaining years chiefly at Howick, where he died in 1845.

It is unfortunate that the long series of medals which bear the name of Earl Grey is headed by a "mule." The

reverse of the above was originally made for a medalet commemorating the failure of the Wellington Administration, and has, therefore, no connection with Grey, who had succeeded to the head of affairs, and could certainly not be accused of "trampling on liberty."

PARLIAMENTARY REFORM ADVOCATED, 1830.

2. *Obv.*—Head of Grey to right: on neck, HALLIDAY . F.  
*Leg.* R<sup>T</sup>. HON<sup>BLE</sup>. EARL GREY.

*Rev.*—Within floral wreath, inscription in eight lines, THE  
ENLIGHTENED AND PERSEVERING DE-  
FENDER OF THE CIVIL & RELIGIOUS  
RIGHTS OF HIS COUNTRY AND OF MAN-  
KIND. BORN MAR. 18, 1764.

1.5. MB. Æ. Pl. XVI. 12.

In the new Parliament formed after the dissolution on 30th June, Grey took his place as leader of the Opposition and warmly advocated Parliamentary Reform, but the Duke of Wellington in his reply declared the existing system of representation to be as near perfection as possible, and thus Reform was handed over to the Whigs.

MEETING OF PARLIAMENT, 1831.

3. *Obv.*—Head of Grey to right; below, BAIN . F.

*Rev.*—Inscription in seven lines, R<sup>T</sup>. HON<sup>BLE</sup>. CHARLES  
EARL GREY, FIRST LORD OF THE  
TREASURY. MDCCCXXXI ❀

.75. MB. R.

Though Grey was appointed head of the Government in November, 1830, Parliament did not meet before 3rd February, 1831.

THE REFORM BILL, 1831.

4. *Obv.*—Medallions with busts of H.M.G. MAJESTY WIL-  
LIAM III., EARL GREY, LD. CHANCEL

BROUGHAM, LD. JOHN RUSSEL, united by  
bands; below, anchor on which scroll inscribed,  
THE CONFIDENCE OF THE PEOPLE.  
HALLIDAY D.

*Rev.*—Inscription in twelve lines, three on scrolls, THE  
DESIRE OF THE PEOPLE THE REFORM  
BILL TRIENNIAL PARLIAMENTS NO  
STANDING ARMY NO UNMERITED PEN-  
SIONS NO TITHES — NO CORN LAWS —  
NO STAMP TAXES — NO EAST INDIA  
MONOPOLY — NO COLONIAL SLAVERY.

1·8. MB. Æ.

This medal sets forth the principal questions of the day which were before the public, and concerning which reforms were advocated. Of these, however, the Reform Bill was the chief one. As soon as Grey was placed at the head of affairs, a select committee of the Cabinet, consisting of Lords Durham and Duncannon, Lord John Russell, and Sir James Graham, was formed to prepare a scheme of reform. Lord Brougham, as Lord Chancellor, was also a principal adviser. The Bill was introduced into the House of Commons on the 1st March, and the second reading carried by the bare majority of one, on the 22nd March; shortly after, the ministry suffering a defeat, Parliament was dissolved; but the Reform party returning with a much increased majority, the bill was re-introduced and was passed by the Commons by a majority of 138 on 8th July. Grey then introduced it into the Lords, but it was thrown out by forty-one.

#### THE REFORM BILL PASSED, 1832.

5. *Obv.*—Heads jugate to left of Lords Grey, Russell, and Brougham; below, HALLIDAY F. *Leg.* GREY  
RUSSEL BROUGHAM THE CONFIDENCE  
OF THE PEOPLE.

*Rev.*—Inscription in eleven lines, two of which are on scrolls, THE DESIRE OF THE PEOPLE .  
THE REFORM BILL NO TITHES NO CORN  
LAWS NO UNMERITED PENSIONS NO  
GAME LAWS NO STAMP TAXES NO EAST  
INDIA MONOPOLY NO COLONIAL SLA-  
VERY.

1.5. MB. Æ.

6. *Obv.*—Medallions with busts of William IV., &c., as No. 4.

*Rev.*—Inscription in eleven lines, two on scrolls, THE  
DESIRE OF THE PEOPLE THE REFORM  
BILL (sprigs of rose, shamrock, and thistle) NO  
UNMERITED PENSIONS NO TITHES —  
NO CORN LAWS — NO GAME LAWS —  
NO STAMP TAXES — NO EAST INDIA  
MONOPOLY — NO COLONIAL SLAVERY.

1.8. MB. Æ.

7. *Obv.*—William IV. seated facing under a canopy; to right and left, stand Lords Grey, Russell, Brougham, and Althorpe. In the exergue, I ADVOCATE THIS BILL AS A MEASURE OF PEACE AND CONCILIATION.

*Rev.*—Earl Grey standing to right and presenting to England, Scotland, and Ireland, with their attributes, a scroll inscribed [RE]FORM BILL. At his feet, cornucopiæ, with fruit, &c. In the exergue, THANK GOD WE HAVE SUCCEEDED.

1.6. MB. Æ.

After the defeat of the Reform Bill by the Lords (see *ante*, No. 4), it was again introduced and passed by the Commons, and passed its second reading on the 14th April, 1832, in the Lords by a majority of nine. Having been referred to a Committee of the whole House, further progress was delayed till May, when the king gave Grey his written authority to create the necessary peers to ensure its passage, and the mere threat overcame the resistance of

the Lords, who saw that a further opposition would be hopeless. It was passed by the Lords on the 4th of June, and received the royal assent three days afterwards.

8. *Obv.*—William IV., standing before his throne, holds in his left hand a scroll inscribed, REFORM BILL. On either side stand Lords Grey, Brougham, Russell, and Althorpe; before them is the British lion; and in the exergue, 1832. T. W. INGRAM BIRM<sup>M</sup>. *Leg.* THE PURITY OF THE CONSTITUTION RESTORED BY WILLIAM IV<sup>TH</sup>.

*Rev.*—Within floral wreath, THE ENGLISH REFORM BILL PASSED UNDER THE ADMINISTRATION OF EARL GREY JUNE 7<sup>TH</sup> 1832 MAJORITY HOUSE OF COMMONS 116, HOUSE OF LORDS 84.

1-74. MB. Æ.

9. *Obv.*—Head of Earl Grey to right. *Inner Leg.* R<sup>T</sup>. HON<sup>BLE</sup>. EARL GREY THE FRIEND OF THE PEOPLE. *Outer Leg.* in two circles, THE REFORM BILL PASSED THE COMMONS MARCH 28. THE LORDS JUNE 4. RECEIVED THE ROYAL ASSENT JUNE 7 1832.

*Rev.*—Patriotism, as St. George, slaying with his spear Corruption, as a demon, holding mask and bag of money; above, radiate triangle enclosing inscription, KING LORDS COMMONS. *Leg.* THE GENIUS OF PATRIOTISM DRIVING CORRUPTION FROM THE CONSTITUTION, 1832.

1-25. MB. Æ.

10. *Obv.*—Head of Earl Grey to right. *Leg.* R<sup>T</sup>. HON<sup>BLE</sup>. EARL GREY. Around, in concentric semi-circles, THE REFORM BILL PASSED THE COMMONS MARCH 28. THE LORDS JUNE 4. REC<sup>D</sup>. THE ROYAL ASSENT JUNE 7. 2<sup>ND</sup>. WILLIAM IV. 1832. | 56 BOROUGHES DISFRANCHISED 30 OLD BOR. TO RETURN 1 MEMBER EA. 22 NEW BOR. TO RET. 2 MEM. EA. 21 NEW BOR. 1 MEM. EA. | THE ELECTIVE FRAN-



CHISE VESTED IN FREEHOLDERS COPYHOLDERS OF  
£10 P. AN. LEASEHOLDERS £50 P. AN. HOUSE-  
HOLDERS £10 P. AN.

*Rev.*—Britannia driving Corruption, holding bag of money and mask, into the sea: at her feet, scroll inscribed GATTON SARUM; behind her stand Justice and Mercury; above, radiate triangle enclosing KING LORDS COMMONS. *Leg.* BRITANNIA SUPPORTED BY JUSTICE DRIVES CORRUPTION FROM THE CONSTITUTION. In the exergue, MDCCOXXXII HALLIDAY F.

2. MB. Æ.

This reverse was issued with different obverses, one being the portrait of William IV., another, a record of the Rotherham political union, &c.

11. *Obv.*—Head of Earl Grey to left; below, DAVIS. *Leg.* RT. HON<sup>BLE</sup>. EARL GREY REAPPOINTED TO OFFICE THROUGH THE UNANIMOUS VOICE OF THE PEOPLE MAY 15, 1832.

*Rev.*—The British lion reclining to right; in front, shield of St. George; behind, scroll inscribed REFORM BILLS, fasces, cornucopiæ, and staff with cap of liberty. Background, radiate. *Leg.* MAJORITY 84. ENGLISH REFORM BILL FINALLY—PASSED THE HOUSE OF LORDS JUNE 4, 1832.

1.7. MB. Æ.

12. *Obv.*—Heads of Lords Grey, Brougham, Russell, and Althorpe, jugate to right. *Leg.* EARL GREY LORD BROUGHAM LORD JOHN RUSSELL & LORD ALTHORPE. WE HAVE CARRIED THE PALM BUT NOT WITHOUT LABOUR 1832.

*Rev.*—Within wreath of oak and laurel, inscription in five lines, ROYAL ASSENT TO THE REFORM BILL JUNE 1832. Above, crown.

1.75. MB. Æ. Pl. XVI. 13.

13. *Obv.*—Jugate heads to left of EARL GREY, LORD BROUGHAM, LORD JOHN RUSSELL and LORD ALTHORPE.

*Rev.*—Radiate crown above two columns on rock and bearing tablets inscribed LORDS COMMONS ; between beam of scales and columns scroll inscribed, REFORM BILL. *Leg.* REFORM BILL PASSED THE HOUSE OF LORDS JUNE 4 1832. In the exergue, MAJORITY 84.

1.35. MB. Æ.

14. *Obv.*—Four medallions bearing busts of EARL GREY, LORD BROUGHAM, LORD JOHN RUSSELL and LORD ALTHORPE. In centre, the British flag radiate. *Leg.* THE ZEALOUS & SUCCESSFUL PROMOTERS OF REFORM.

*Rev.*—Radiate crown above two columns placed on rock in sea and inscribed, LORDS MAJ<sup>y</sup>. 84 COMMONS MAJ<sup>y</sup>. 116. Between columns, beam of scales : in foreground, recumbent lion. *Leg.* THE PURITY OF THE CONSTITUTION RESTORED. In the exergue, 1832.

1.9. MB. Æ.

15. *Obv.*—Four medallions bearing busts of EARL GREY, &c., same as the preceding.

*Rev.*—Within wreath of laurel and palm, shield with scroll above inscribed REFORM BILL PASSED JUNE, 1832, and bearing two right hands joined above heart ; above shield, eye of Providence ; the whole within cable border.

1.9. MB. Æ.

16. *Obv.*—Four medallions with busts of EARL GREY, &c., same as No. 14.

*Rev.*—Within laurel wreath, two right hands joined. *Leg.* UNION IS THE BOND OF SOCIETY.

1.9. MB. Æ.

17. *Obv.*—Heads jugate to left of Lords Grey, Russell, and Brougham ; below, HALLIDAY F. *Leg.* GREY RUSSELL BROUGHAM THE CONFIDENCE OF THE PEOPLE.

*Rev.*—Lion trampling on hydra ; on ground, loose chain. Below, THE REFORM BILL PASSED JUNE

7, 1832. Above, on scroll, CORRUPTION DESTROYED, PURITY RESTORED.

1.5. MB. Æ.

18. *Obv.*—Heads jugate to left of Lords Grey, Russell, and Brougham, similar to the preceding.

*Rev.*—Within floral wreath, inscription in six lines, THE REFORM BILL PASSED JUNE . 7 . 1832 .  
II. WILL. IV. *Outer Leg.* CORRUPTION DESTROYED PURITY RESTORED.

·95. MB. Brass.

This and Nos. 19—21 are cheap memorials of the event commemorated.

19. *Obv.*—Heads jugate to left of Lords Grey, Russell, and Brougham, &c., same as No. 17.

*Rev.*—Within floral wreath, THE REFORM BILL.  
*Outer Leg.* THE DESIRE OF THE PEOPLE.

·95. MB. Brass.

20. *Obv.*—Heads jugate to left of Lords Grey, Russell, and Brougham, &c., same as No. 17.

*Rev.*—Bust of William IV. to right. *Leg.* WILLIAM IV. KING OF G. BRIT.: *Outer Leg.* in semi-circles, THE REFORM BILL PASSED & RECEIVED THE ROYAL ASSENT JUNE 7 1832. LONG LIVE THE KING.

·95. MB. Brass.

21. *Obv.*—Heads jugate to left of Lords Grey, Russell, and Brougham. *Leg.* THE BRITISH HOUSE OF COMMONS REFORMED JUNE . 7 . 1832.

*Rev.*—Inscription in thirteen lines, THE INVINCIBLE CHAMPIONS OF THE REFORM BILL WHICH AFTER A MOST VIOLENT CONTEST OF 15 MONTHS BECAME LAW JUNE 7TH 1832 AMIDST THE ACCLAMATIONS OF AN UNITED PEOPLE. Around, EARL GREY LORDS BROUGHAM & RUSSEL.

1.05. MB. Brass.

22. *Obv.*—Busts of Earl Grey and Lord Russell, jugate, to left. *Leg.* EARL GREY LORD JOHN RUS-

SEL THE UNWEARIED SUPPORTERS OF PARLIAMEN-  
TARY REFORM AND NATIONAL FREEDOM.

*Rev.*—Angel holding olive branch and cap of liberty on staff; at her feet, dead bodies. *Leg.* THEY TRAFFIC<sup>d</sup>. IN THE PEOPLE'S RIGHTS. In the exergue, BOROUGHMONGERS DEFEATED BY LIBERTY.

1·8. MB. ST.

23. *Obv.*—Busts of Earl Grey and Lord Russell, jugate, to left. *Leg.* GREY & RUSSELL DEFEATERS OF THE BOROUGHMONGERS.

*Rev.*—Inscription in four lines, THE BILL THE WHOLE BILL & NOTHING BUT THE BILL.

·85. MB. Brass.

24. *Obv.*—Head of Earl Grey to right. *Leg.* RT. HON<sup>BLE</sup>. EARL GREY THE FRIEND OF THE PEOPLE. *Outer Leg.* THE REFORM BILL PASSED THE COMMONS MARCH 23 THE LORDS JUNE 4 RECEIVED THE ROYAL ASSENT JUNE 7, 1832.

*Rev.*—Within wreath of oak and laurel, lion left, trampling on hydra. *Leg.* CORRUPTION DESTROYED, PURITY RESTORED.

1·5. MB. Æ.

25. *Obv.*—Bust of Earl Grey to left, in frock-coat, &c. *Leg.* EARL GREY THE JUST RIGHTS OF THE PEOPLE OBTAINED.

*Rev.*—Lion to right trampling on hydra; behind, English flag. *Leg.* CORRUPTION & THE TYRANNY OF A FACTION OVERTHROWN REFORM BILL PASSED JUNE 7, 1832.

1·5. MB. Æ.

SCOTTISH REFORM BILL PASSED, 1832.

26. *Obv.*—Jugate heads to left of EARL GREY, &c., same as No. 13.

*Rev.*—Within wreath of thistles, cornucopiæ, fasces, and scroll inscribed SCOTCH REFORM BILL; above, rays. *Leg.* THE GOOD OF THE

PEOPLE IS THE FIRST GREAT LAW  
PASSED 18 JULY 1832.

1.35. MB. Æ.

There is a similar medal to the above, but with the obverse as No. 11. (MB. Æ.)

The carrying of the English reform bill insured a rapid course to the reform bills for Scotland and Ireland. Resistance on any point which either party deemed of importance was now ascertained to be useless. The Scottish bill was read a second time in the Commons on the 21st May, passed the Lords on the 13th July, and received the royal assent on the 17th of the same month.

27. *Obv.*—Jugate heads to left of EARL GREY, &c., same as No. 13.

*Rev.*—On St. Andrew's cross, radiate, oval shield, bearing a dove holding olive branch in its beak and supporting cap of liberty, standing on fasces, below which thistle, and inscribed SCOTCH REFORM BILL RECD. ROYAL ASSENT JULY 17. Above shield, crown; on base of cross and in angles is inscribed GREY BROUGHAM RUSSELL ALTHORPE. NATIONAL POLITICAL UNION. Below, DAVIS . BIRM.

1.4. MB. Æ.

28. *Obv.*—Four medallions with busts of EARL GREY, &c., same as No. 14.

*Rev.*—Within wreath of thistles, fasces, cornucopiæ and scroll inscribed SCOTCH REFORM BILL, &c., same as No. 26.

1.9. MB. Æ.

29. *Obv.*—Heads jugate to left of Lords Grey, Russell, and Brougham, &c. Same as No. 17.

*Rev.*—Thistle branch; above, CORRUPTION DESTROYED JULY 17 1832. *Leg.* THE REFORM BILL FOR SCOTLAND REC. THE ROYAL ASSENT.

95. MB. Brass.

30. *Obv.*—On scroll, GREY RUSSELL BROUGHAM; below, THE REFORM BILL FOR SCOTLAND PASSED JULY 17 1832.

*Rev.*—Scottish royal shield, surrounded by thistle branch.  
*Leg.* THE RIGHTS OF SCOTLAND ESTABLISHED.

·85. MB. Brass.

A heart-shaped badge with loop for suspension.

ENGLISH, SCOTTISH, AND IRISH REFORM BILLS PASSED, 1832.

31. *Obv.*—Medallion with portrait of EARL GREY surrounded by branches of roses, shamrock, and thistle; around, on scroll, JUBILEE TO COMMEMORATE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE RIGHTS OF THE PEOPLE.

*Rev.*—Shields of England, Scotland, and Ireland, suspended from raised border on which is inscribed FOR ENGLAND JUNE 7. SCOTLAND JULY 17. IRELAND AUGUST 7. Below shields, THE REFORM BILLS PASSED 1832.

1·35. MB. ST.

A heart-shaped badge with loop for suspension.

The Irish reform bill passed the Commons on the 18th July, was read a second time in the Lords on the 23rd following, and received the royal assent on the 7th August.

32. *Obv.*—Medallion with portrait of GREY; surrounded by branches of roses, shamrock, and thistle; below, THE REFORM BILLS PASSED. And on raised border, FOR ENGLAND JUNE 7. SCOTLAND JULY 17. IRELAND AUG. 7 1832.

*Rev.*—Inscription in nine lines, JUBILEE IN COMMEMORATION OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE RIGHTS OF THE PEOPLE.

·9. MB. ST.

A heart-shaped badge as the preceding.

## NICHOLAS GRIMSHAW.

JUBILEE OF THE MERCHANTS' GUILD OF PRESTON, 1822.

1. *Obv.*—Bust of Grimshaw to right, wearing gown with fur collar, &c. *Leg.* NICH<sup>s</sup>. GRIMSHAW ESQ<sup>RE</sup>. MAYOR OF PRESTON AT THE GUILDS OF 1802 & 1822.

*Rev.*—Two Shields with the arms of Grimshaw and the city of Preston: with mottoes, CAUTE SED IMPAVIDE. INSIGNIA VILLÆ DE PRESTON.

1.9. MB. R. Æ. PL. XVI. 14.

The Merchants' Guild of Preston, which was established for the protection of the trade of the city, as well as for the regulation and settlement of its affairs, was legalised by their charter in the reign of Henry V. It numbered amongst its members all the chief leaders of the town. It had been the custom since the reign of Elizabeth to hold a jubilee festival of the guild every twenty years. These festivals appear at first to have been held at irregular periods and at different times of the year, but since the incorporation of the select body or council of the borough by the charter of Elizabeth, they have always commenced on the first Monday after the decollation of St. John at the end of every twenty years. In 1822 the festival was held with great pomp and feasting, and for a period of nearly a fortnight, from September 2nd to 14th, the city was in a state of excitement with processions, public breakfasts, banquets, balls, masquerades, theatrical entertainments, concerts, races, games, &c. Nicholas Grimshaw, who had served the office of bailiff in the Guild of 1782, and mayor in that of 1802, was chosen by the jury, out of his regular turn, to be mayor on the recurrence of the festival in 1822.

## JUBILEE OF THE MERCHANTS' GUILD OF PRESTON, 1822.

2. *Obv.*—Two Shields with the arms of Grimshaw and the city of Preston united by bands. *Leg.* NICH<sup>S</sup>. GRIMSHAW ESQ<sup>RE</sup>. MAYOR OF PRESTON AT THE GUILDS OF 1802 & 1822.

*Rev.*—Church. *Leg.* IN COMMEMORATION OF THE JUBILEE HELD AT PRESTON 1822.

1.4. MB. Æ.

A special memorial service was held in the parish church on the second day of the festival. It was attended by all the official personages and the illustrious visitors.

## SIR BERKELEY WILLIAM GUISE, BART., M.P., 1775—1834.

GLOUCESTER ELECTION, 1812.

*Obv.*—Within oak wreath, inscription in eight lines, SIR BERKELEY WILL<sup>M</sup>. GUISE, BART. AND THE INDEPENDENT ELECTORS OF THE COUNTY OF GLOUCESTER A.D. 1811.

*Rev.*—Inscription in seven lines, MAY THE SPIRIT OF BRITISH FREEDOM PROTECT THE ELECTIVE FRANCHISE FROM THE CORRUPTIONS OF ARISTOCRACY.

1.75. MB. ST.

Sir Berkeley William Guise was the eldest son of John, first Baronet. He succeeded to the title in 1794, and was returned to Parliament as member for Gloucestershire at the general election of 1812, and continued to represent that county till his death. His opponents in the election of 1812 were the Hon. H. F. Moreton and Mr. Codrington. Sir William Guise headed the poll. He was favourable to the Reform in Parliament, and advocated the immediate abolition of slavery. He died 23rd July, 1834.

H. A. GRUEBER.



## MISCELLANEA.

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FIND OF COINS AT COLCHESTER.—During some excavations lately made at Colchester a small hoard of Roman silver coins was found, the bulk of which came into the hands of Mr. Charles Golding of that town, who kindly submitted them to me for examination. The coins, rather more than thirty in number, range over a period of about a hundred years, from the reign of Hadrian to that of Severus Alexander, the majority having been struck under Septimius Severus and his family. The date of the last coin in the hoard is A.D. 228, so that its deposit cannot have been before that date, though probably but a year or two later. As will be seen from the following list none of the coins are of special interest or rarity. There is one slight variety of Antoninus Pius (Cohen, No. 582) omitting the P.P. after his name and titles; and among the coins of Caracalla is one of those of large module, the *binio* or double denarius, known as the *argenteus Antoninianus*. These pieces were first issued in A.D. 215, and with the intermission of the reigns of Severus Alexander and Maximinus, continued to be struck until, under Gordian III., they became the most abundant of the silver coins. The Colchester specimen is one of the first year of their issue, and weighs  $79\frac{1}{2}$  grains = 5.15 grammes, or rather less than double the weight of the later denarii of Caracalla. The weight aimed at, assuming that the Antoniniani were struck at the rate of sixty-four to the pound, was 5.12 grammes.<sup>1</sup>

The coins comprised in this hoard, especially those of later date, were as a rule in good condition.

JOHN EVANS.

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<sup>1</sup> *Hist. de la Monn. Rom.*, Mommsen and Blacas, vol. iii. 70.

## LIST OF COINS FOUND AT COLCHESTER, 1891.

## HADRIANUS.

*Obv.*—HADRIANVS AVGVSTVS. Bare head r.

*Rev.*—ROMA FELIX COS. III. P. P. Rome seated. (Coh. 1,807.)

## ANTONINUS PIUS.

*Obv.*—ANTONINVS PIVS. Bare head r.

*Rev.*—CONSECRATIO. Funeral pile. (Coh. 164.)

*Obv.*—ANTONINVS AVG. PIVS P.P. TR. P. XV. Laureate bust r. (Var. of Coh. 582.)

*Rev.*—COS. IIII. Fortune standing. (Coh. 267.)

*Obv.*—IMP. CAES. T. AEL. HADR. ANTONINVS AVG. PIVS. Laureate bust r.

*Rev.*—PAX (in exergue) TR. POT. XIII COS. IIII. Peace standing holding branch and sceptre.

## FAUSTINA I.

*Obv.*—DIVA FAVSTINA. Bust r.

*Rev.*—AVGVSTA Ceres (?) standing. (Coh. 93 ?)

## MARCUS AURELIUS.

*Obv.*—AVRELIVS CAES. AVG. PII F. Bare head r.

*Rev.*—VIRTVS COS. II. Valour standing. (Coh. 1,006.)

## LUCIUS VERUS.

*Obv.*—L. VERVS AVG. ARMENIACVS. Bare head r.

*Rev.*—ARMEN. (in exergue) TR. P. IIII IMP. II COS. II. Armenia seated. (Coh. 8.)

*Obv.*—L. VERVS AVG. ARM. PARTH. MAX. Head laureate r.

*Rev.*—PAX (in exergue) TR. P. VI IMP. IIII COS. II. Peace standing. (Coh. 126.)

*Obv.*—As last. Head laureate r.

*Rev.*—TR. P. VIII IMP. V COS. III. Equity seated. (Coh. 318.)

## COMMODUS.

*Obv.*—M. COMM. ANT. P. FEL. AVG. BRIT. P.P. Laureate head r.

*Rev.*—LIB. AVG. P.M. TR. P. XV COS. VI. Liberty standing. (Coh. 282.)

*Obv.*—M. COMMODVS ANTONINVS AVG. Laureate head r.

*Rev.*—TR. P. VII IMP. III COS. III P.P. Salus at altar. (Coh. 833.)

## SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS.

*Obv.*—L. SEPT. SEV. PERT. AVG. IMP. XI. PART. MAX. Laureate head r.

*Rev.*—COS. II P.P. Victory l. (Coh. 96.)

*Obv.*—IMP. CAE. L. SEP. SEV. PERT. AVG. Laureate head r.

*Rev.*—COS. III P.P. Victory l. (Coh. 100.)

*Obv.*—SEVERVS PIVS AVG. Laureate head r.

*Rev.*—FVNDATOR PACIS. Severus standing. (Coh. 205).

*Obv.*—IMP. CAE. L. SEP. SEV. PERT. AVG. Laureate head r.

*Rev.*—LIBERAL. AVG. COS. Liberality standing. (Coh. 281.)

*Obv.*—SEVERVS PIVS AVG. Laureate head r.

*Rev.*—PART. MAX. P. M. TR. P. VIII. Trophy with two captives at foot. (Coh. 370.)

## JULIA DOMNA.

*Obv.*—IVLIA AVGVSTA. Draped bust r.

*Rev.*—PIETAS AVGG. Piety at altar. (Coh. 150.)

## CARACALLA.

*Obv.*—ANTONINVS PIVS AVG. Laureate head r.

*Rev.*—LIBERALITAS AVG. VI. Liberality standing. (Coh. 128.)

*Obv.*—ANTONINVS PIVS FEL. AVG. Laureate head r.

*Rev.*—MARTI PROPVGNATORI. Mars. (Coh. 151.)

*Obv.*—IMP. CAE. M. AVR. ANT. AVG. P. TR. P. Draped and laureate bust r.

*Rev.*—MINER. VICTRIX. Minerva and trophy. (Coh. 159.)

*Obv.*—ANTONINVS PIVS AVG. GERM. Laureate head r.

*Rev.*—P.M.TR.P.XVII COS. IIII P.P. Apollo seated. (Coh. 242.)

*Obv.*—As last. Radiate bust r.

*Rev.*—P. M. TR. P. XVIII COS. IIII P.P. The sun standing (Antoninianus). (Coh. 287.)

*Obv.*—ANTONINVS AVGVSTVS. Laureate bust r.

*Rev.*—PONTIF. TR. P. III. Standing figure. (Coh. 413.)

*Obv.*—ANTONINVS PIVS AVG. Laureate and draped bust r.

*Rev.*—VOT. SVSC. DEC. PON. TR. P. V COS. Caracalla at altar. (Coh. 686.)

#### GETA.

*Obv.*—P. SEPT. GETA CAES. PONT. Bare bust r.

*Rev.*—NOBILITAS. Nobility standing. (Coh. 90.)

*Obv.*—P. SEPTIMIVS GETA CAES. Bare bust r.

*Rev.*—PONTIF. COS. II. Geta sacrificing. (Coh. 119.)

*Obv.*—As last.

*Rev.*—PROVID. DEORVM. Providence standing. (Coh. 170.)

*Obv.*—P. SEPT. GETA CAES. PONT. Bare bust r.

*Rev.*—SECVRIT. IMPERII. Security seated. (Coh. 183.)

*Obv.*—As last. Bare bust r.

*Rev.*—VICT. AETERN. Victory l. (Coh. 206.)

ELAGABALUS.

*Obv.*—IMP. CAES. M. AVR. ANTONINVS AVG. Laureate bust r.

*Rev.*—P. M. TR. P. COS. P.P. Rome seated l. (Coh. 125).

*Obv.*—IMP. CAES. ANTONINVS AVG. Laureate bust r.

*Rev.*—P. M. TR. P. II COS. II P.P. Rome seated l. (Coh. 136.)

SEVERUS ALEXANDER.

*Obv.*—IMP. C. M. AVR. SEV. ALEXAND. AVG. Draped and laureate bust r.

*Rev.*—P. M. TR. P. COS. P.P. Mars standing. (Coh. 207.)

*Obv.*—IMP. C. M. AVR. SEV. ALEXAND. AVG. Draped and laureate bust r.

*Rev.*—P. M. TR. P. II COS. P.P. Jupiter standing. (Coh. 229.)

TITYROS OR TISYROS.—My friend, Mr. A. Skias, Deputy Professor of Greek Literature at the University of Athens, who is at present engaged on a study of the Cretan dialect, has, on reading my article, "The Inscription ΤΙΣΥΡΟΙ on Coins of Gortyna" (published in the *Num. Chron.* for 1887, pp. 126—131), directed my attention to a passage in the Scholiast on Theocritus, iii. 2 (ed. Ahrens), that has hitherto escaped the notice of all who have written on Cretan history, geography, or numismatics.

Τίτυρος· ὄνομα κύριον ὁ Τίτυρος, τινὲς [δὲ] φασίν, ὡς τὸ Σιληνὸς ὁ Σικελιώτης· "Ἄλλοι δὲ τοὺς τράγους. ἕτεροι τοὺς Σατύρους· ἐνιοι ὄνομα πόλεως Κρήτης.

It will be seen that this passage completely confirms my previous supposition that the inscription ΤΙΣΥΡΟΙ had an ethnic significance. From the close resemblance in type and fabric of the ΤΙΣΥΡΟΙ coins to the didrachms of Gortyna, I was formerly led to believe that Τίσυροι must be one of the

names (like *Κορύσται* and *Καρτεμνίδες*) borne by the Gortynians. It must be remembered, however, that different towns sometimes issued coins that were identical in type and fabric. The coinage by Gortyna and Phaestus of the well-known didrachms inscribed *Γόρτυνος τὸ παῖμα* and *Φαιστίων τὸ παῖμα* is an instance of this (Svoronos, *Num. de la Crète*, Pl. XII. 21; Pl. XXII. 84). The *Τίρυποι* coins need not, therefore, be assigned to Gortyna, but must belong to the town of *Τίρυπος* or *Τίρυπος*, the existence of which we learn from the important passage above cited. The workmanship of the coins, if closely examined, will be found, moreover, to be somewhat less careful than that of the Gortynian money. To the long list of Cretan towns we have thus to add yet another name.

JOHN N. SVORONOS.

AN UNPUBLISHED PENNY OF ARCHBISHOP CRANMER.—In the autumn of 1887, I purchased a penny of Henry VIII, which was shown to me as I was standing for a moment watching the pulling down of an old house not far from the Market Square in Cambridge. It proved to be a penny of the second coinage of Henry VIII, the so-called sovereign type, with the king enthroned, with the legend H. D. G. ROSA SINE SPINA, and mint-mark Catherine wheel. The reverse reads CIVITAS CANTOR; in the centre the shield with the royal arms. On either side of the shield are the letters T. C., Thomas Cranmer. It weighs  $10\frac{1}{2}$  grs. Troy. Hawkins does not assign any pennies of the second issue to Canterbury, although of course the halfpence with the initials T. C. and Catherine-wheel mint-mark are well known.

WILLIAM RIDGEWAY.

## NOTICES OF RECENT NUMISMATIC PUBLICATIONS.

The *Revue Numismatique*, 1891, Parts I.—III. contain the following articles:—

1. PRINCE PETER OF SAXE-COBURG. On rare and unpublished Greek coins.

This paper contains nothing specially worth noting. On the coin of Byzantium (Pl. I., No. 2), the object which the writer

calls an *instrument de pêche fusiforme* is now known to be a tall torch.

2. SAGLIO (E.). On a denarius of Hostilius Saserna, and on the primitive worship of Diana in Italy. The author justly remarks that the archaic image of Diana on the reverse of this coin is not, as has been generally supposed, that of the Ephesian Artemis, but of the old Italic Diana of Latium.

3. GUIFFREY (J.). On some medals of the Carrara, Lords of Padua, *circ.* A.D. 1390. These medals, formerly supposed to be later restitutions, are here proved to be of the time, and to be, therefore, the earliest Italian medals.

4. BABELON (E.). On four bronze medallions of Asia Minor struck at Cyzicus, Ephesus, and Acmonia. The reverses of the coins of Cyzicus, which are both of Commodus, are respectively, the galley of the Proconsul, showing the *κελευστής* seated in the stern, and the eponymous hero of the city, Kyzikos, whose statue, one of the ornaments of the town, was restored at great expense in the second century of our era. The coin of Ephesus is of Macrinus, and represents five figures sacrificing before his temple. That of Acmonia is of Gordian, and exhibits on the reverse a finely-executed group of Rhea-Amalthea, with the infant Zeus upon her knee, protected on either side and at the back by one of the Corybantes or Curetes.

5. PROU (M.). On a silver coin of the sixth century, with the legend *DONO DEI*. This coin, on the obverse of which is a monogram, is assigned by the writer to Childebart I.

6. CASTAN (A.). A concession by Charles the Bald of the right of coining money to the metropolitan Church of Besançon.

7. BLANCHET (J. A.). The Book of the money-changer, Duhamel. The writer here gives an interesting description of a curious manuscript, written before the year 1521, containing short indications of the values of different coins then and previously current, and illustrated by rubbings from some of the specimens.

8. SORLIN DORIGNY (A.). Aurelian and the revolt of the monetarii. This is a paper which will well repay further study. Its object is to prove that previous writers, including Mommsen, have mistaken the causes of the rebellion of Felicissimus and his moneyers; a rebellion which cost Aurelian seven thousand of his soldiers. It is generally supposed that Aurelian's monetary reforms, by which the workmen in the mint were deprived of the illegitimate profits which they made by debasing the coinage, were the immediate cause of the revolt. It is contended by the writer, first, that any such profits could have

been only infinitesimal ; secondly, that the revolt preceded and did not follow the reform of the coinage ; and, lastly, that the expression used by Aurelius Victor, *nummariam notam corrossisent*, does not mean that they had debased the metal, but that they had issued a seditious currency. The discussion turns upon the meaning of the word *nota*, which the author would limit to a type, sign, or inscription on a coin.

9. PROU (M.). On barbarous silver coins found in the Merovingian cemetery of Herpes.

10. HEISS (A.). An essay on the coins of the Suevi. The writer classifies the Suevian coinage as follows :—The earliest issues are imitations of the *Triens* of Honorius. During the reign of Valentinian III, the Suevi modified the reverse type of the imperial coinage, and developed therefrom what may be called a characteristic national variety. Their earliest and their later coins were struck at Bracara, in Galicia, which they conquered in A.D. 409, and which they lost, together with their nationality, in 584. Between 430 and 457 their principal mint was Emerita, in Lusitania, but when that province was reconquered by the Visigoths the Suevian money was once more restricted to Galicia.

11. BLANCHET (J. A.). The Book of the money-changer, Duhamel (continuation).

12. LIÉNARD (F.). Note on a hoard of coins discovered in the neighbourhood of Verdun, consisting of episcopal deniers of Verdun, ranging from 1089—1129.

13. MARCHÉVILLE (M. de). Restitution of a Tournai groat to John IV, Duke of Brittany.

14. DROUIN (E.). Remarks on the coins struck in the first centuries of the Christian era by the Turanian princes of Turkestan, eastern Iran, and north-west India, before the Mohammedan conquest.

15. SCHLUMBERGER (G.). On three seals of the Holy Land, attributed to Renaud, Count of Sidon, 1165—1204, to Peter, a Latin Patriarch of Antioch, and to Sergius, an abbot of the famous monastery of St. Paul, at Antioch.

16. PRINCE PETER OF SAXE-COBURG. On rare and unpublished Greek coins (second article).

17. LE BLANT (E.). On a silver medal (charm or amulet) of the time of Charles VII.

18. DE MARCHÉVILLE (M.). On a Burgundian coin of John Duke of Normandy.

19. MOWAT (R.). On the so-called heads of Pallor and Pavor, on denarii of L. Hostilius Saserna.

20. BAPÉLON (E.). Aradus. In this interesting paper the





Cæsar's Dictatoris quemquam alium recepisse dorso equus traditur, idemque humanis similes pedes priores habuisse, hac effigie locatus ante Veneris Genetricis aedem." Suetonius also (*Div. Julius*, 61) writes: "Utebatur autem equo insigni, pedibus prope humanis et in modum digitorum ungulis fissis, quem natum apud se, cum haruspices imperium orbis terræ significare domino pronuntiassent, magna cura aluit nec patientem sessoris alterius primus ascendit, cujus etiam instar pro aede Veneris Genetricis postea dedicavit." Cæsar, in encouraging the credulity of the ignorant and their belief in his wondrous horse, did but follow, from political motives, in the footsteps of Alexander the Great. Cæsar's horse was a mere plagiarism of Bucephalus. Herr Roscher supposes that, after the victory at Zela which relieved Bithynia, with its capital Nicæa, from the danger with which it was threatened at the hands of the cruel Pharnaces, the city of Nicæa set up in its *τέμενος* of the Divus Julius an equestrian statue of Cæsar, deified in the likeness of the Phrygian god Μην 'Ασκήνος, or 'Ασκαῖος (cf. Ascanius), in allusion to his Trojan descent. The peculiar attributes of Cæsar's marvellous horse were copied from the statue which the Dictator had himself caused to be erected at Rome, other symbols being added, such as the serpent-tail and the serpent-staff, which are also characteristic of the worship of the god Mên. In illustration of his theory, Herr Roscher has compiled a most valuable and exhaustive monograph on the cultus of the Moon-god, Mên, which widely prevailed in western Asia Minor among the ethnologically allied races of Phrygians, Mysians, Lydians, and Carians. This interesting treatise is accompanied by a good index, which will render the work extremely useful for reference. We may here see at once what attributes belong to the worship of Mên, and what distinctive titles and epithets he bore in the various localities in which his worship flourished. These latter, it will be noticed, are not less numerous than they are strange, *e.g.*, 'Αξιότηηνός, 'Ασκήνός, 'Ασκαῖος, Καμαρείτης, Κάρον, Οὐράνιος, Περραεῖτης, Σαβάσιος, Τάμου, Τύραννος, Φαρνάκου, Φωσφόρος, etc. Four excellent plates accompany the essay in which the different types of the Asiatic Moon-god are figured.

B. V. HEAD.

"*Les Monnaies et la Chronologie des rois de Sidon sous la domination des Perses Achéménides*," par E. Babelon. (*Bulletin de Correspondance hellénique*, 1891, p. 293.)

Among the many unsolved problems that have for years past exercised the curiosity of numismatists, there are few which have

so thoroughly baffled their ingenuity as the Phœnician letters עכ, רע, עע, on the large octadrachms which M. Six (*Num. Chron.*; 1877, p. 195) was the first to attribute to the city of Sidon. Hence although M. Six's theory as to the origin of these coins met with very general acceptance, he cannot be said to have advanced any absolute proof of its soundness. Such proofs are, however, at last forthcoming, and the credit of adducing them is due to the keen insight of M. Babelon, the learned assistant-keeper of the Cabinet des Médailles in the Bibliothèque nationale. M. Babelon's brilliant discovery not only places beyond all doubt the attribution of the coins in question to Sidon, but settles several knotty points in chronology which had been in dispute with regard to the names and the number of the monarchs who reigned in Sidon before the time of Alexander the Great. The following, from a numismatic standpoint, are the main results of M. Babelon's researches:—

The coins with the Phœnician galley in full sail (*Hist. Num.*, fig. 352) he attributes to the King of Sidon who reigned from about B.C. 400 to 374, and who fought at Cnidus under the orders of Conon and Pharnabazus. Unfortunately we do not know the name of this king, and his coins are uninscribed.

The second group, distinguished by the letters עב (which, however, only occur on some of the didrachms, the octadrachms being still uninscribed), has on the obverse a galley lying under the fortified wall of a city (*Hist. Num.*, fig. 353). These are assigned to King Strato I (B.C. 374—362), the letters עב being the initials of his Phœnician name Abdashtoreth (עבדשטררת), of which "Strato" is a corruption. The successor of Strato I was Tennes (B.C. 362—350), to whom M. Babelon ascribes the series of which the types are, *obv.* a galley with rowers at sea and dates ranging from 1 to 4; *rev.* king driven slowly by charioteer, with an attendant walking behind the chariot in Asiatic costume. The inscription on the coins of this class is רע. The Phœnician name of this king is not known; possibly it was not Semitic, as Tennes was a prince imposed upon Sidon by the King of Persia after the revolt of Strato. After four years Tennes himself revolted from Persia, but subsequently submitted, leaving Ochus to wreak his vengeance upon Sidon, which he pillaged and burnt in B.C. 350.

The most important discovery of M. Babelon is, however, his explanation of the strange combination of Phœnician letters עע, which is characteristic of the series which follows next in order. These he believes to be the first two letters of the Phœnician form of the Greek name Evagoras (עעבורא). Evagoras II, ex-king of Salamis in Cyprus, was appointed by the Great King (according to Diodorus, xvi. 46) to a sovereignty in Asia even

more important than that which he had lost in Cyprus. This sovereignty is identified by M. Babelon as Sidon, the throne of which city had fallen vacant in B.C. 350 on the death of Tennes. Evagoras reigned at Sidon only three years, B.C. 349—346, when he was expelled in favour of a scion of the ancient royal race, Strato II, B.C. 346—332. To Strato II belongs the largest series of Sidonian coins. In type they resemble those of his predecessors, Tennes and Evagoras, and they are distinguished by the inscription עב, the two first letters of Strato's Phœnician name Abdashtoreth. According to the dates which these coins bear Strato II must have reigned at least thirteen years, and here again the testimony of history is confirmed by the coins.

After Alexander's conquest the coins of Sidon were struck in his name and with his types.

In addition to the above-described coinage of Sidon itself, the Sidonian types were adopted by the Persian satrap Mazaeus, whose name מזדי in Aramaic characters distinguishes a series of octadrachms which, judging from the form of the letters, can only have been struck in one of the ports of the Cilician coast. Mazaeus became satrap of Cilicia *circ.* B.C. 360. He helped to put down the revolt of Tennes, and ultimately betrayed Darius, and opened the gates of Babylon to Alexander, who left him in possession of the satrapy of Babylon, where he died in B.C. 328. His coins with Sidonian types seem to have been issued during three separate periods of his rule, doubtless on the occasion of maritime expeditions, for they bear the dates of his reign, 1, 2, 3, then, after an interval, 9, 10, 11, 12, and lastly, after another interval, 19, 20, and 21.

There is still one more group of octadrachms which remains to be mentioned. These are of finer work than any of the others. They are distinguished by their heavier weight, by their edges, which are rounded, and by the fact that the attendant who follows the king's chariot wears an Egyptian costume. The octadrachms and didrachms of this group have on the obverse the letter ב, while the obols have ב on the obverse and ף on the reverse. No dated specimens are known. M. Babelon would attribute the coins of this class to the period between B.C. 346 and 343, while Artaxerxes Ochus was engaged in the conquest of Egypt. The letters בע and ב stand for the name of Bagoas, a eunuch of Egyptian origin, who rendered invaluable assistance to the king of Persia in subduing and pacifying Egypt. In B.C. 343 he returned with his master to Babylon, and was succeeded in Egypt by the satrap Pherendates.

The bronze coins and a few of the obols of the above classes are uninscribed and can therefore be only conjecturally distributed among the various reigns.

We have thought it well to dwell somewhat at length on M. Babelon's interesting article, partly because it has not appeared in a numismatic periodical, but chiefly because we regard it as one of the most important contributions to the science of numismatics which has come under our notice of late years. It is important, not only to numismatists, who are enabled now for the first time to classify the coins in their proper order, but to Semitic scholars and historians, who may gather from it new data for the nomenclature and the chronology of the kings of Sidon, and who may learn from it for the first time the part which Evagoras II of Cyprus took in the political changes which ensued upon the burning of Sidon after the revolt of Tennes, B.C. 350.

B. V. HEAD.

*Numismatica.* By Dr. Solone Ambrosoli. Milan, 1891.

This is a volume in the large series of elementary manuals published by Hoepli of Milan. It is illustrated by photographs of about a hundred coins, and its cost is only a lira and a half. The attempt to write a manual of ancient, mediæval, and modern numismatics within the limits of 209 small pages is a *tour de force* which must be leniently judged. On the whole, Dr. Ambrosoli has made a judicious use of the space at his disposal, and his book will be useful to beginners who can read Italian; while at the same time its bibliographical details (especially full in the Italian sections), and its handy lists of emperors, doges, &c., will render it of some service even to experienced numismatists. In another edition, the chapter on Roman coins would be improved by inserting the approximate dates of the various issues. The bibliography of "Inghilterra" and "Scozia" also needs revision. The names of Cochran-Patrick and Burns should be added to that of Lindsay, and the works of Evans, Hawkins, Kenyon, and Montagu might surely be substituted for *The English Coins and Tokens* of Jewitt.

W. WROTH.

# INDEX.

## A.

- Aegina, coin of, 127  
 Aenus (Thrace), coin of, 118  
 Aetolian League, coin of, 126  
 Agrippa, large coin of, 153  
 Akragas, coins of, 365  
 Alexander the Great, coin of, 122  
 Alexander, tyrant of Pheræ, coin of, 124  
 Alexander, Severus, coins of, 417  
 " medallions of, 158  
 Amadocus II. (?), coin of, 119  
 Ambrosoli, Solone, his *Numismatica* noticed, 425  
 Antonia, coin of, 200  
 Antoninus and Aurelius, coin of, 146  
 Antoninus Pius, coin of, 414  
 " medallion of, 154  
 Aptera (Crete), coin of, 128  
 Aradus (Phœnicia), coin of, 133  
 Aramaic coin, 133  
 Archaic coins, 1  
 Arethusa, head of, 243  
 Artist, a new Syracusan, 231  
 Athens, coins of, 126, 222, 364  
 ΑΘΑΑ on medallions, 213, 239  
 Augustus, coins of, 199  
 " Cypriote coin of, 146  
 Aurelius, M., coin of, 414  
 " medallion of, 156

## B.

- BABELON, E. :—  
 His *Catalogue des monnaies Grecques, Rois de Syrie*, noticed, 113  
 His *Monnaies des rois de Sidon*, etc., noticed, 422  
 Bithynian coin, 130  
 BLANCHET, M. J. ADRIEN :—  
 Inedited gold crown of James V., with the name of John, Duke of Albany, 203

- Bodleian Collection, Gupta coins in, 60  
 British Museum, Greek coins acquired by, 116, 117  
 Bury, Bishop De, Durham pennies of, 164

## C.

- Caligula, coins of, 200  
 Camperdown, Viscount, medals of, 65  
 Caracalla, coins of, 415, 416  
 Carthage, coins of, 302, 304  
 Chandra Gupta I., coins of, 52  
 Chandra Gupta II., coins of, 54  
 Chester, the mint of, 12  
 Citium, coins of, 142  
 Claudius, coins of, 201  
 " Cypriote coin of, 146  
 Clazomenæ, coins wrongly attributed to, 9  
 Cnidus, coin of, 131  
 Commodus, coins of, 415  
 " medallion of, 157  
 Cranmer, penny struck under, 418  
 Crete, coins of, 109, 128  
 CROWTHER, REV. G. F., M.A. :—  
 Pennies of William I. and II., 25  
 On a Pax penny attributed to Witney, 161  
 Cyprus, coins of the kingdom of, 147  
 Cyprus, coins found in, 140  
 Cyrene, coins of, 1

## D.

- Dâmareteion, the history of the, 325  
 Dêmêtêr, head of, 310  
 Dionysios, the tin coinage of, 351  
 Dubnovellaunus, new coin of, 198  
 Duppa, Richard, medal of, 68  
 Durham pennies of Bishops De Bury and Hatfield, 164  
 Dyce, William, medal of, 69

## E.

- Earrings, their varieties, 282  
 Eaton, D. I., medal of, 70  
 Edmonds, G., medal of, 71  
 Edward IV., arrangement of the coins of, 180  
 Edward VI., coins of, 202  
 Effingham, Earl of, medal of, 72  
 Egerton, J., medal of, 72  
 Elagabalus, coins of, 417  
 Eldon, Earl of, medals of, 73  
 Elis, coin of, 127  
 Elizabeth, coins of, 203  
 Elliott, G. A., medals of, 74  
 Elphinstone, Mount Stuart, medal of, 76  
 Engel and Serrure, their *Traité de Numismatique du Moyen Age* noticed, 114  
 Englefield, Sir H. C., medal of, 77  
 Eon, Chevalier d', medal of, 78  
 Erskine and Gibbs, medals of, 79  
 Eryx, coins of, 365  
 Euing, W., medal of, 81  
 Eumenes, the engraver, 263  
 Eupolemus, coins of, 134  
 EYÖ, the engraver, 264  
 Evænetos, the engraver, 208, 258  
 „ his artistic coins, 289  
 Evagoras, coin of, 143  
 EVANS, ARTHUR JOHN, F.S.A.:—  
 Syracusan "medallions" and their engravers, 205  
 Appendix A, 364  
 Appendix B, 372  
 Evans, Rev. C., medal of, 82  
 Evans, J., medal of, 82  
 EVANS, JOHN, D.C.L., P.S.A.:—  
 On some rare or unpublished Roman medallions, 152  
 A new coin of Dubnovellaunus, 198  
 Find of coins at Colchester, 413  
 Exmouth, Viscount, medal of, 83

## F.

- Faustina I., coin of, 414  
 „ medallion of, 154  
 Fellowes, R., medal of, 85  
 Fereday, S., medals of, 85  
 Ferguson, R., medal of, 86  
 Ferguson, Sir R. C., medals of, 87  
 Ferguson, Rt. Hon. R. C., medal of, 88

- Ferrie, A., medal of, 89  
 Fielding, Sir J., medal of, 90  
 Finds of coins:—  
 Colchester, 413  
 Cos, 1  
 Naxos, 374  
 Santa Maria di Licodia, Sicily, 217  
 Vallalore, Southern India, 199  
 Western Sicily, 364  
 Whaplode, 202  
 Fitzwilliam, Earl, medal of, 91  
 Flaxman, J., medal of, 92  
 Fordyce and Hunter, medal of, 92  
 Fothergill, J., medal of, 93  
 Fox, C. J., medals of, 94  
 Franklin, B., medals of, 100  
 Franks, A. W., jeton of, 103  
 Fuller, J., medals of, 103

## G.

- Garbett, Samuel, medal of, 377  
 Gardner, Lord, medal of, 377  
 GARDNER, PROF. PERCY, F.S.A.:—  
 Notice of Babelon's *Monnaies Grecques, Rois de Syrie*, 113  
 Garrick, David, medals of, 379  
 Gascoyne, Gen., medal of, 381  
 Gaskell, Benjamin, medal of, 382  
 Gela, coins of, 303, 365  
 Geta, coins of, 416  
 Giesecke, Charles Von, medal of, 382  
 Gilbert, J. W., medal of, 384  
 Gladstone, Rt. Hon. W. E., medals of, 385  
 Gordon, Lord George, medals of, 381  
 Gordon, Sir W. Duff, medal of, 387  
 Gortyna, coins of, 417  
 Gould, John, medal of, 388  
 Graham, Gen., medal of, 394  
 Granby, Marquis of, medals of, 380  
 Grant Duff, Lady, medal of, 391  
 Grapes, bunch of, on coins, 1  
 Grattan, Henry, medals of, 392  
 Gray, J. E. and M., medal of, 395  
 Greek archaic coins, 1  
 Greek coins acquired by the British Museum, 117; corrections, 116  
 Green, Charles, medal of, 396  
 Greene, Richard, medal of, 397  
 Grenville, Lord, medal of, 397  
 Gresley, Sir Roger, medal of, 398

Gretton, Sarah, medal of, 399  
 Grey, Earl, medals of, 399  
 Grimshaw, Nicholas, medal of, 411  
 GRUEBER, H. A., F.S.A.:—  
     English Personal Medals from  
     1760, 65, 377  
     Treasure-trove, Whaplode, Lin-  
     colnshire, 203  
 Guise, Sir B. W., medal of, 412  
 Gupta coins, 48  
 Guy de Lusignan, coin of, 150

## H.

Hadrian, coin of, 414  
     "    medallion of, 153  
 Harpies, representations of, 6  
 Hatfield, Bishop, Durham pennies  
     of, 164  
 HEAD, BARCLAY V., D.C.L.,  
     Ph.D.:—  
     Archaic coins probably of Cyrene,  
     1  
     Notice of *Revue Numismatique*  
     and *Zeitschrift f. Numismatik*,  
     105, 418  
     Notice of Svoronos' article in  
     *Ephemeris*, 110  
     Notice of Ramsay's *Asia Minor*,  
     111  
     Notice of Babelon's *Monnaies*  
     *des rois de Sidon*, 422  
 Henries, coins of the, 193  
 Henry VI., quarter-noble errone-  
     ously attributed to, 189  
 Henry VI., coins of, 180  
 Henry VII., coins of, 34  
 Henry VIII., penny of, 418  
 Herakles, head of, 8  
 Himera, coins of, 274, 366  
 Hyrtacina (Crete), coin of, 129

## I.

Isaac Comnenus, coin of, 147  
 Itanus (Crete), coins of, 128  
 Iulis (Ceos), coin of, 129

## J.

James II. of Cyprus, coin of, 151  
 James V. of Scotland, and John,  
     Duke of Albany, gold crown of,  
     203

John II. of Cyprus, coin of, 150  
 Julia Domna, coin of, 415

## K.

Kâcha, Gupta coins of, 53  
 Kumarina, coins of, 292, 365  
 Katanê, coins of, 292, 365  
 Kimôn, the engraver, 207  
     "    his dekadrachms, 255  
 Korê, the head of, 211  
 Kumara-Gupta, coins of, 58  
 Kylix, Cyrenean, 5  
 Kyrênê, coins of, 266

## L.

Latus (Crete), coin of, 128  
 LAWRENCE, L. A., Esq.:—  
     English silver coins issued be-  
     tween 1461 and 1483, 180  
 Leicester, the mint of, 12  
 Leontini, coins of, 360, 366  
 Leukas, coins of, 364  
 Lisus (Crete), coins of, 129  
 Lycæsius, coin of, 121

## M.

Mary, coin of, 203  
 Medallions, Roman, 152  
     "    Syracusan, 205  
 Mendo, coin of, 2  
 Messana, coins of, 221, 366  
 Moagetas of Paphos, coins of (P),  
     141  
 MONTAGU, H., F.S.A.:—  
     The Anglo-Saxon mints of Lei-  
     cester and Chester, 12  
     Notice of Engel and Serrure's  
     *Numismatique du Moyen Age*,  
     114  
     On the Durham pennies of  
     Bishops de Bury and Hatfield,  
     164  
 Motya, coin of, 222, 272, 367

## N.

Neapolis, coins of, 279  
 Nero, coins of, 202  
 Nero Drusus, coins of, 200  
 Nicomedes II. (P) of Bithynia, coin  
     of, 130  
 Nikê on Syracusan medallions, 236,  
     350



## O.

Olba (Cilicia), coin of, 132

## P.

PACKE, A. E., Esq. :—

Some Notes on the coins of  
Henry VII., 34

Panormus, coins of, 269

Pausanias of Macedon, coin of, 122

PAX pennies of William I. or II.,  
25, 161

Persophonê, head of, 231, 244

Persian coin, 133

Pharæ (Thessaly), coins of, 123

Philippopolis (Gomphi), coin of,  
123

Phrygillos, the engraver, 223, 264

Pnytagoras (?), coin of, 142

Praesus (Crete), coin of, 129

Praxippus, coin of, 144

Probus, medallion of, 159

## R.

Ramsay, Prof. W. M., his *His-  
torical Geography of Asia Minor*  
noticed, 111

RAPSON, E. J., Esq., M.A. :—

Notes on Gupta coins, 48

*Revue Numismatique* noticed, 105,  
418

Rhaucus (Crete), coin of, 129

Rhêgion, coins of, 364

Ridgway, W., unpublished penny  
of Cranmer, 418

## S.

Sablé, Robert de, of Cyprus, coin  
of, 148

Salamis, coins of, 141

Salmacis, coins assigned to, 140

Samuda-Gupta, coins of, 53

Scione (Macedonia), coin of, 121

Segesta, coins of, 259, 294, 367

Selinûs, coin of, 222, 265, 277, 368

Severus, Sept., coins of, 415

Severus Alexander, *see* Alexander  
Severus.

Siculo-Punic coins, 268, 369

Sidon, coins of the kings of, 422

Silphium on coins, 7

Sôsiôn, the Syracusan engraver, 263

Sparadocus, coin of, 118

SVORONOS, J. N. :—

His *Numismatique de la Crète  
ancienne* noticed, 109

*Ephemeris Archæologike* no-  
ticed, 110

Tityros or Tisyros, 417

Syracuse, coins of, 117, 221, 368

Syracusan coinage, chronology of  
the, 348

Syracusan "medallions" and their  
engravers, 205

Syracusan medallions, weight of,  
249

Syracusan medallions, history of,  
325

## T.

Tarsus, coin of, 300

THURSTON, EDGAR, Esq. :—

A further discovery of Roman  
coins in Southern India, 199

Tiberius, coins of, 199

Timarkos of Paphos, coin of, 145

Tityros or Tisyros, 417

Tricca (Thessaly), coin of, 125

## V.

Verus, Lucius, coins of, 414

## W.

WARREN, COL. FALKLAND, C.M.G. :  
Notes on coins found in Cyprus,  
140

William I. and II., coins of, 25

Wind-gods, representations of, 6

Witney or Wilton, PAX pennies  
attributed to, 161

WROTH, WARWICK, F.S.A. :—

Notice of Svoronos' *Crète an-  
cienne*, 109

Corrections as to Greek coins in  
the British Museum, 116

Greek coins acquired by the  
British Museum in 1890, 117

Eupolemus, 135

Notice of Ambrosoli's *Numis-  
matica*, 425

## Z.

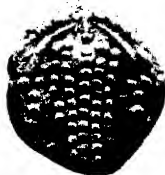
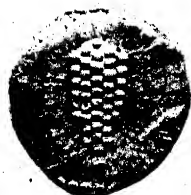
*Zeitschrift für Numismatik* noticed,  
106

END OF VOL. XI.

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VOL. XI. THIRD SERIES.

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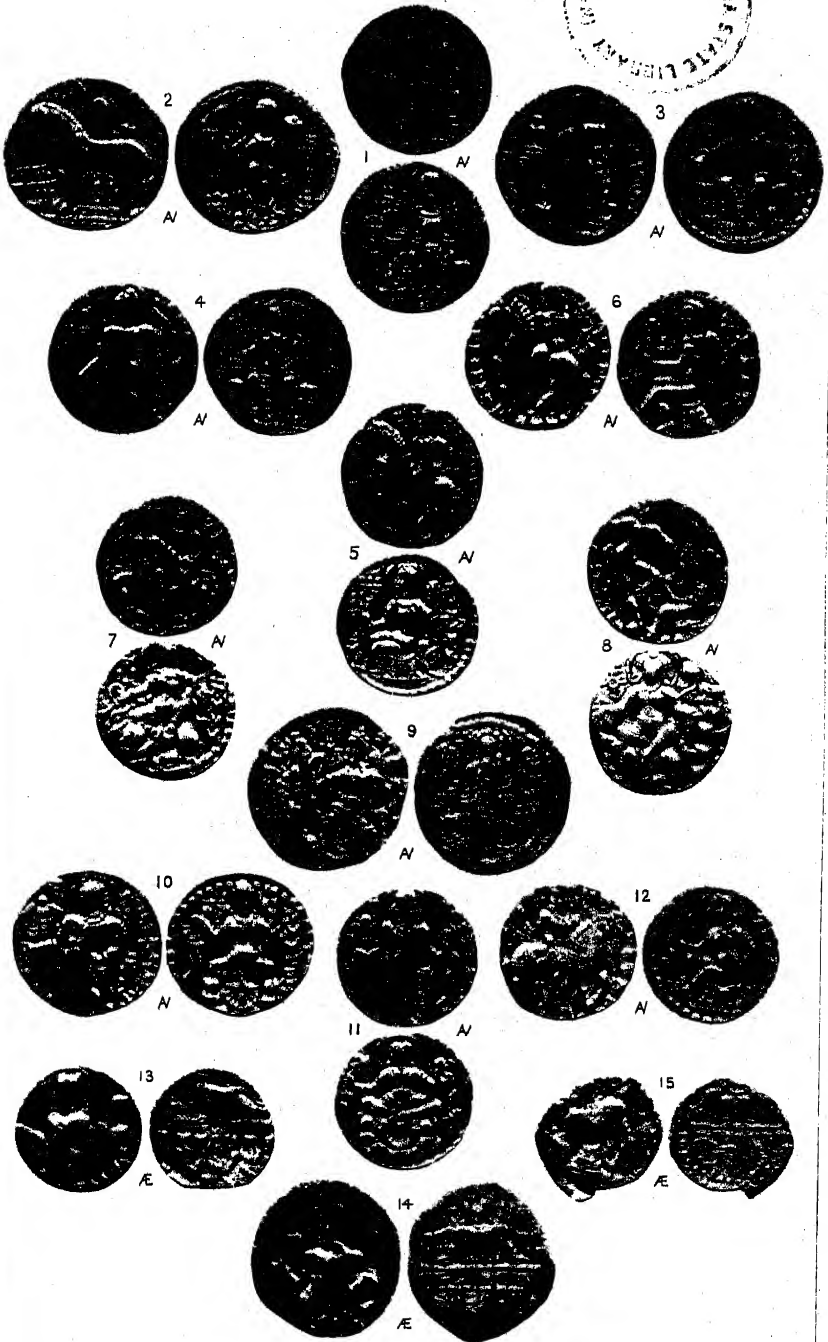
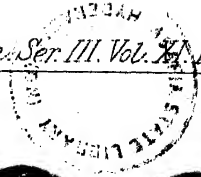


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AUTOTYPE



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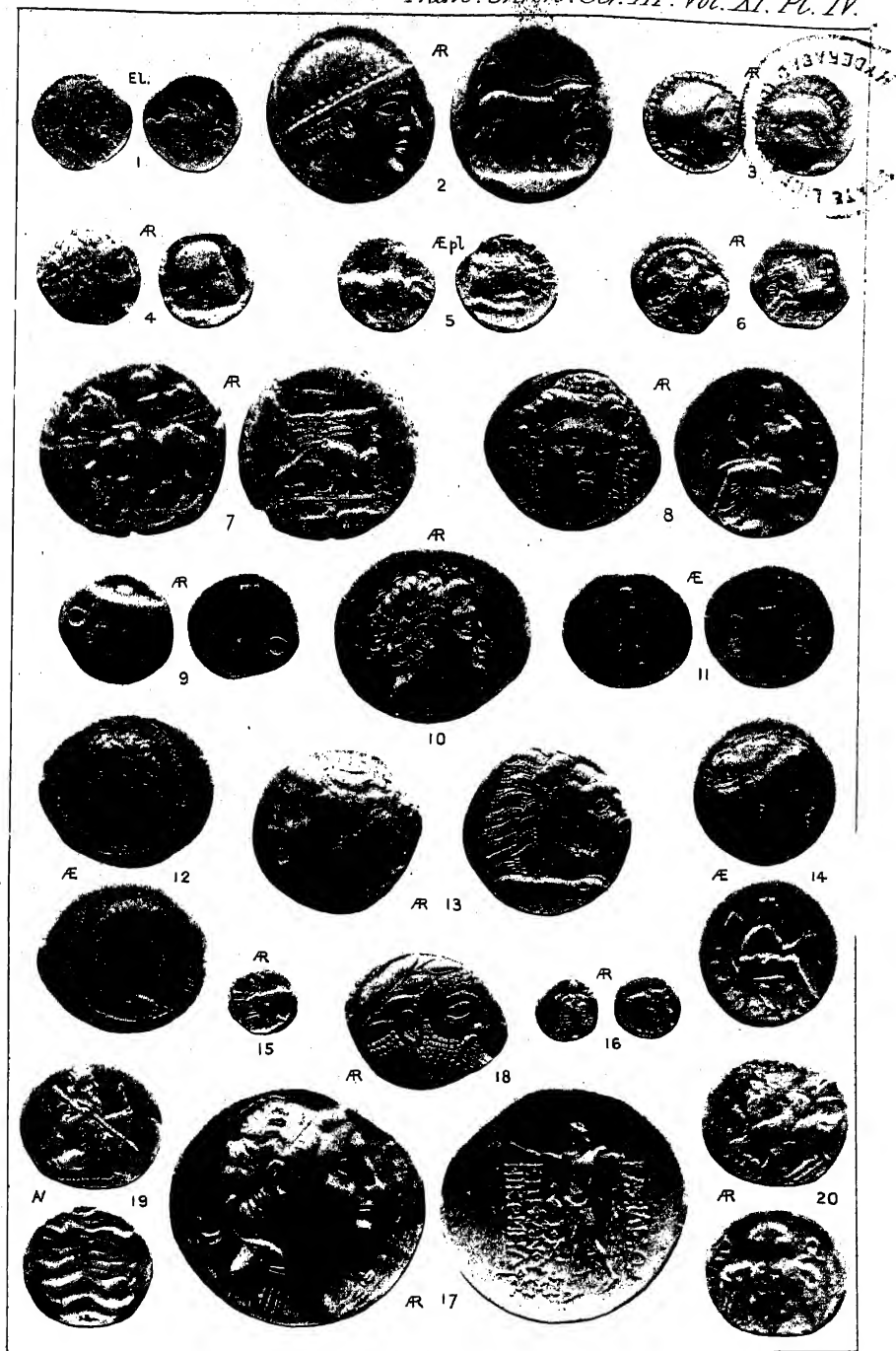
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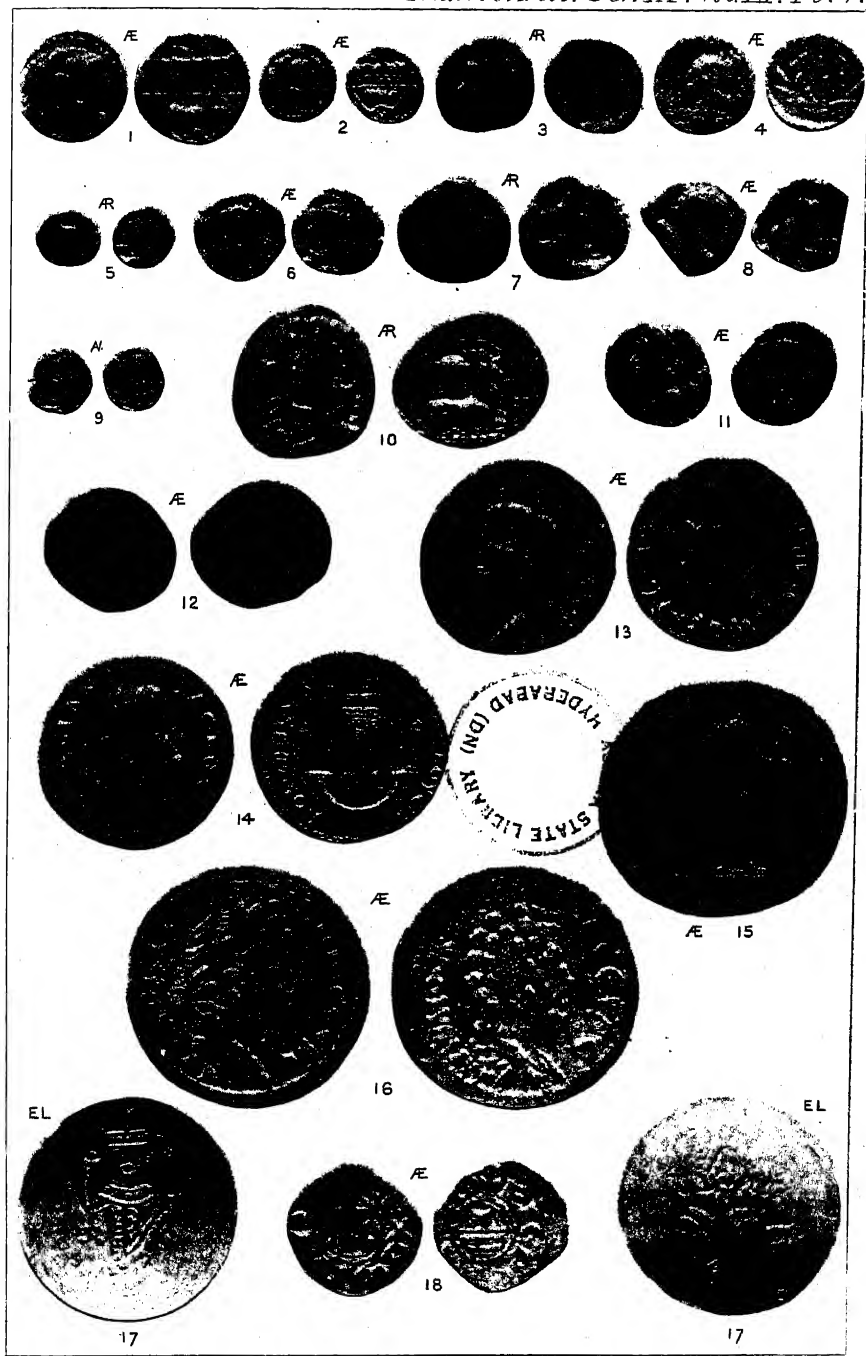


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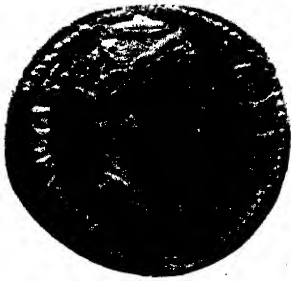
ENGLISH PERSONAL MEDALS.

*( $\frac{3}{4}$  of the actual size)*

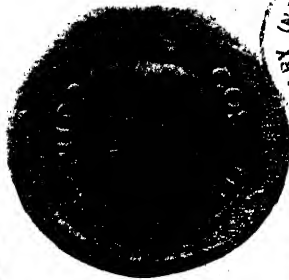




COINS FOUND IN CYPRUS.



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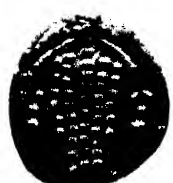
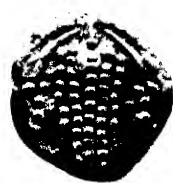
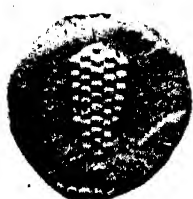


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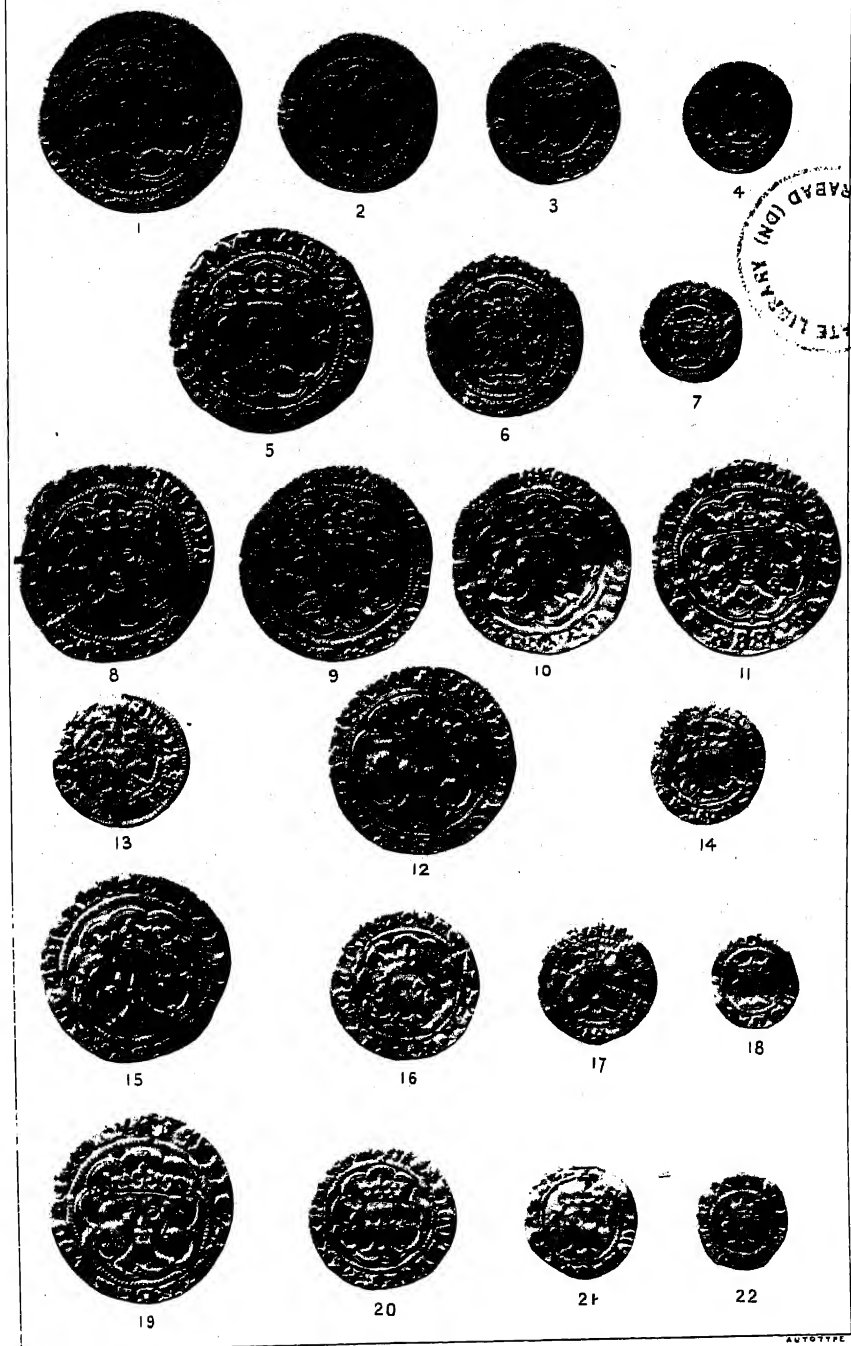


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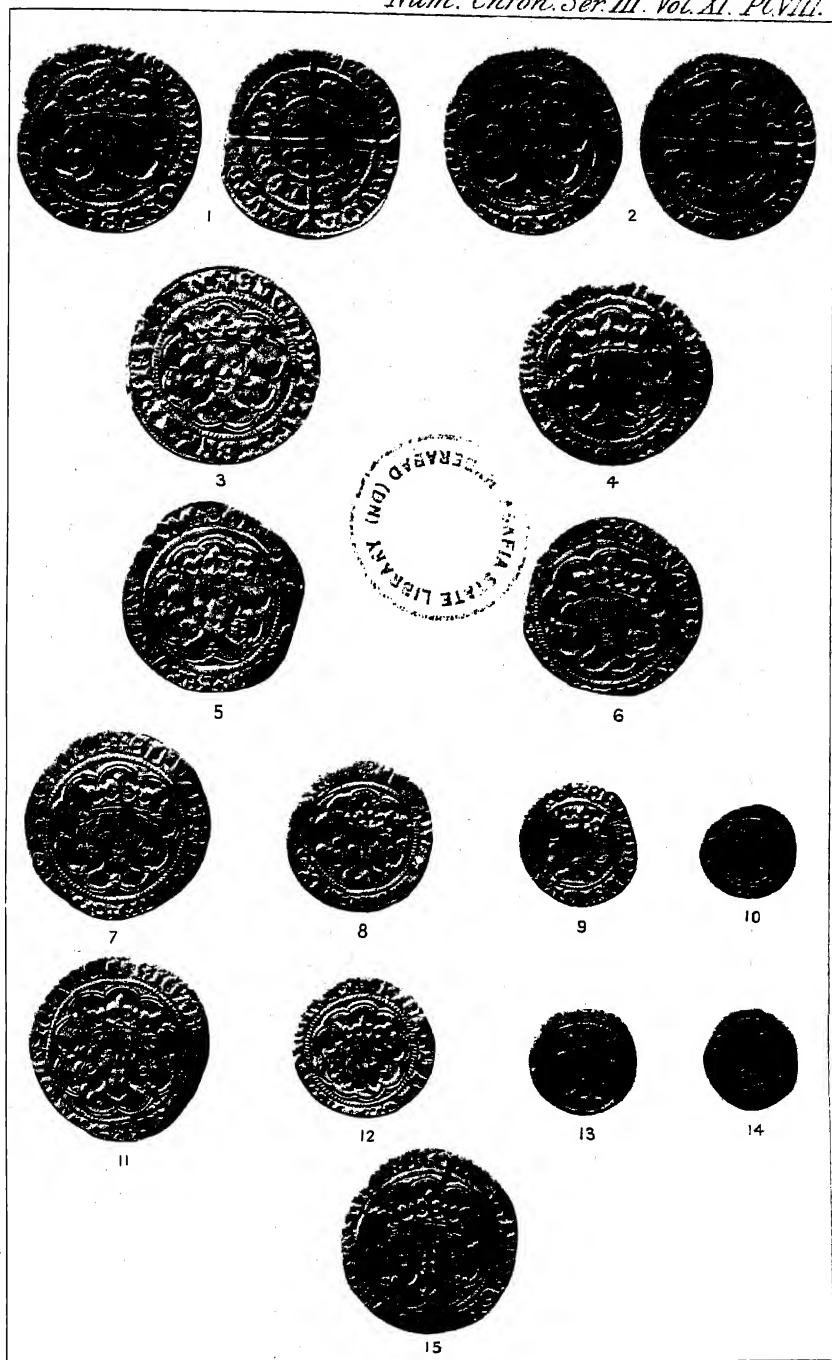
COINS OF CYRENE.





ENGLISH SILVER COINS.

1461-1483



ENGLISH SILVER COINS.

1461-1483.



Evmenês

Evth

Late Transitional (Syr.)



3



5



4



Evaenetos (Syr.)



Kimôn: First Medallion Type.



Segesta



6



Parme... (Syr.)

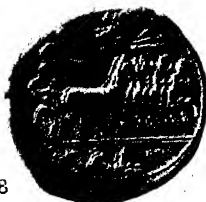


7

Syracuse



8



Panormos, imitated from Kimôn, Type I



9



PLATE I.

KIMÔN'S FIRST MEDALLION TYPE AND ILLUSTRATIVE COINS.



Kimôn, Type II



2



1<sup>b</sup>

Kimôn, Type II



3



Kimôn, Gold Stater  
as Type II



Kimôn, Tetradrachm  
as Type II



4<sup>a</sup>



4<sup>b</sup>

Kimôn, Gold Staters  
(Later)



5



6

Motya: Imitations of Kimôn's Type II



8



7



Kimôn, 'Medallion' Type III

Panormos, Im. of K. T. II



9



10



11



Didrachms of Neapolis

PLATE II.

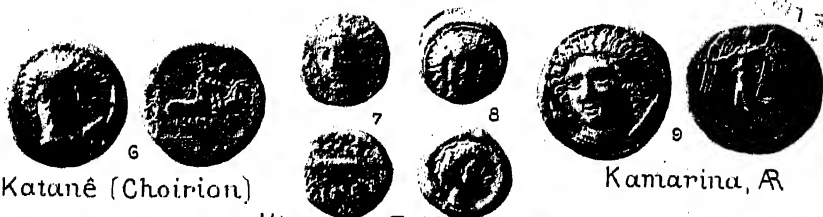
KIMON'S LATER 'MEDALLIONS' AND ILLUSTRATIVE COINS.



Neapolis



Tetradrachms by Kimôn with Facing Head of Arethusa



Katanê (Choirion)

Kamarina,  $\mathcal{A}$

Himera,  $\mathcal{A}$  Motya,  $\mathcal{A}$



Motya Didrachm

Motya,  $\mathcal{A}$

Motya Didrachm



Larissa (Thessaly)

Satrapal Coin of Cilicia  $\mathcal{A}$

PLATE III.

KIMÔN'S FACING HEAD OF ARETHUSA PROTOTYPE AND COPIES.



PLATE IV.  
'MEDALLION' BY NEW ARTIST [TWO DIAM.S.]



Evaeuetos, Gold Staters



Gem found near  
Catania



Tarsos  $\Delta$   
(Tersikon)



Evaeuetos, Gold  
Pentêkontalitron



Carthaginian  
Gold Pieces



Carthaginian  
Camp Coin



10



11



12



Evaeuetos, Earliest  
Medallion Type



Evaeuetos  
with  $\Delta$  on Obv



Evaeuetos [Evaine]



13<sup>a</sup>



13<sup>b</sup>

Evaeuetos : Latest Medallion with Signature Evainetov

PLATE V.

'MEDALLIONS' AND GOLD PIECES BY EVAEUNETOS WITH  
ILLUSTRATIVE COINS AND GEM.



1

Medallion of Evaenetos



Agathoklès



2



4

Kentoripa A



Hiketas A



5



Opuntian Lokrians



6



7

Pheneos



9

Rhoda



8

Massalia



10

Emporiae



11

Siculo-Punic



12

PLATE VI.

EVAENETOS 'MEDALLION TYPE AND IMITATIONS.





1



2



3



4



Hêrakleia  
Minoa

Siculo-Punic Æ

Panormos



Carthaginian A



6



7



Siculo-Punic Æ



8



9<sup>a</sup>



9<sup>b</sup>



Katanê

Syracuse



10



11



Katanê

Kamarina

COINS IN EVAENETOS EARLIER MANNER.



1



3



7



2



7



2



4



5



6



9



11



8



10



14



12



13

ENGLISH PERSONAL MEDALS.

( $\frac{3}{4}$  of the actual size.)

# PROCEEDINGS OF THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.

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SESSION 1890—1891.

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OCTOBER 16, 1890.

JOHN EVANS, Esq., D.C.L., LL.D., Sc.D., Treas.R.S., P.S.A.,  
President, in the Chair.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the table :—

1. Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift. Nos. 20—41.  
From the Publishers.

2. Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland.  
Parts I—II, 1890. From the Society.

3. Royal Irish Academy. Cunningham Memoir No. V. Pro-  
ceedings, 3rd series, vol. i, No. 3. From the Academy.

4. Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Onest.  
1<sup>er</sup> trimestre, 1889. From the Society.

5. Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie. 1889,  
Part IV, and 1890, Parts I—III, with Tillæg, 1889. From the  
Society of Northern Antiquaries of Copenhagen.

6. Mémoires de la Société royale des Antiquaires du  
Nord, 1889. From the Society.

7. Journal of the Institute of Bankers. Vol. xi, Parts VI—  
VII. From the Institute.

8. Zeitschrift für Numismatik. Band XVII, Part II. From  
the Editor.

9. *Rivista Italiana di Numismatica*. Fasc. II, 1889. From the Editor.

10. *Monatsblatt der Numismatischen Gesellschaft in Wien*. Nos. 82—85. From the Society.

11. *Annuaire de la Société française de Numismatique*. May—August, 1890. From the Society.

12. *Sitzungsberichte der K. Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*. Parts I—XIX, 1890. From the Academy.

13. *Catalogue of the Oriental Coins in the British Museum*. Vol. ix. From the Trustees of the British Museum.

14. *Revue Belge de Numismatique*, 3<sup>e</sup> and 4<sup>e</sup> livraisons, 1890. From the Society.

15. *Bulletin historique de la Société des Antiquaires de la Morinie*. 154<sup>e</sup> livraison. From the Society.

16. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London*. Vol. xiii, No. 1. From the Society.

17. *The Numismatist*. No. 7. From the Publisher.

18. *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*. Vol. xi, No. 1. From the Society.

19. *Smithsonian Report*. 1886, Part II; 1887, Parts I—II. From the Institute.

20. *Kongl. Vitterhets Historie och Antiquitets Akademiens Månadsblad*, 1888. From the Academy.

21. *Rare Copper Coins of Akbar*. By C. J. Rodgers, Esq. From the Author.

22. *Vetulonia et ses Monnaies*. By J. Falchi. From the Author.

23. *L'Usuria di Roma*. By the same.

24. *Archæologia Æliana*. Vol. xv, Part I. From the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-on-Tyne.

Mr. L. A. Lawrence exhibited three coins of Stephen, the first of which presented on both sides the ordinary bust of the king. The second was of the type of Henry II's first issue, the interest lying in the letters on the obverse FNREX . A. On the reverse was ON LIN, proving the coin to have been

struck at Lincoln. The third coin presented a new reverse type, a double cross confined within an inner circle, and in each angle a pyramid surmounted by an annulet. The obverse type was the same as Hawkins, Pl. XXI, 276.

Mr. A. J. Evans read a paper "On some New Artists' Signatures on Sicilian Greek Coins." This is printed in full in *Num. Chron.*, vol. x, p. 285.

NOVEMBER 20, 1890.

JOHN EVANS, Esq., D.C.L., LL.D., Sc.D., Treas.R.S., P.S.A.,  
President, in the Chair.

The following gentlemen were elected Members of the Society :—

Colonel M. G. Clerk, and Mr. C. D. Furdoonjee.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the table :

1. The Coins of the Ancient Britons. Supplement. By John Evans, F.R.S., P.S.A. From the Author.

2. Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift. Nos. 42—46. From the Publishers.

3. Journal of the Institute of Bankers. Vol. xi, Part VIII. From the Institute.

4. Kongl. Vitterhets Historie och Antiquitets Akademiens Månadsblad, 1889. From the Academy.

5. Catalogue of the Central Asiatic Coins, collected by A. F. de Loessoe. From Dr. C. F. R. Hoernle.

6. Jahrbücher des Vereins von Alterthumsfreunden im Rheinlande. Heft LXXXIX. From the Society.

7. Monatsblatt der Numismatischen Gesellschaft in Wien. Nos. 86, 87. From the Society.

8. *Annuaire de la Société française de Numismatique*. Sept.—Oct., 1890. From the Society.

9. Catalogue of a Collection of Antique Coins made in Syria. By M. G. Morel. From Hyde Clarke, Esq.

10. *The Monist*. Vol. i, No. 1. From the Publisher.

11. The Stanley Medal of the Royal Geographical Society in bronze. From the Society.

The President exhibited a bronze medal bearing a portrait of Charles Darwin, executed by Mr. Allan Wyon for the Royal Society, and another with a portrait of the late Mr. C. Roach Smith, executed by Mr. J. Pinches for the "Roach Smith Fund."

Mr. H. Montagu exhibited a proof in copper of Blondeau's half-crown of the Commonwealth, dated 1651, with plain edge.

The Rev. G. F. Crowther read a paper on the coins of William I and II, in which he suggested a rearrangement and redistribution of the pennies struck by them. See *Num. Chron.*, vol. xi. p. 25.

Mr. A. E. Packe read a paper on the coinages of Henry VII, which is printed in *Num. Chron.*, vol. xi, p. 34.

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DECEMBER 18, 1890.

H. MONTAGU, Esq., F.S.A., Vice-President, in the Chair.

The following gentlemen were elected Members of the Society:—

W. Beresford Smith, Esq., and C. J. Spence, Esq.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the table:—

1. *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de Picardie*, 1889, No. 4, and 1890, No. 1. From the Society.

2. Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift, Nos. 47—50, 1890. From the Publisher.

3. Sitzungsberichte der K. Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Nos. 20—40. From the Academy.

4. Catalogo da Collecção de moedas visigodas. By E. A. Allen. From the Author.

5. Bulletin de Numismatique et d'Archéologie. Vol. vi. Dernière livraison. By R. Serrure. From the Author.

6. Medal in commemoration of the Seven-hundredth Anniversary of the Mayoralty of the City of London. From the City Corporation.

Mr. Montagu exhibited six remarkably fine Greek coins, including a specimen of the extremely rare and beautiful silver stater of Pheneus in Arcadia, struck about B.C. 362, *obv.*, head of Demeter; *rev.* ΦΕΝΕΩΝ, Hermes carrying in his arms the infant Arkas; and tetradrachms of Ænus in Thrace, Amphipolis in Macedon, and Rhodes, all of the finest style, dating from about B.C. 400, and with full-faced heads of Hermes and Apollo.

Mr. W. Wroth read an account of the principal Greek coins acquired by the British Museum during the year 1889; which is printed in the *Num. Chron.*, vol. x, p. 311.

JANUARY 15, 1891.

H. MONTAGU, Esq., F.S.A., Vice-President, in the Chair.

W. Heaton Jacob, Esq., was elected a Member of the Society.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the table:—

1. Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift. Nos. 51 and 52 of 1890, Nos. 1 and 2 of 1891. From the Publishers.

2. The Journal of the Institute of Bankers. Vol. xi, Part X. From the Institute.

3. Monatsblatt der Numismatischen Gesellschaft in Wien. Nos. 88, 89. From the Society.

4. Bulletins de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest. 3<sup>e</sup> trimestre de 1890. From the Society.

5. Revue Belge de Numismatique. 1<sup>e</sup> livraison, 1891. From the Society.

6. The Royal Mints of Tamworth, Warwick, and Coventry. By W. A. Cotton. From J. Cotton, Esq.

7. Traité de la Numismatique du Moyen-âge. By A. Engel and R. Serrure. Paris, 1891. From M. A. Engel.

Mr. Montagu exhibited a collection of rare patterns for the copper coinage struck in pewter in the reign of Charles II, including an unpublished one with the rose within the Garter and PER MARE ET TRRAS (*sic*) on the obverse, and the harp within the Garter and PER MARE ET TERRAS on the reverse. Mr. Montagu also exhibited a specimen of the German rupee struck for the German East India Company.

Mr. Lawrence exhibited a penny of Stephen of the usual type, but with a double cross on the reverse; a noble, a groat, and a half-groat of Edward III, with Roman M's and E's; and also a groat of Henry VII's second coinage, with mint-marks, a greyhound's head on the obverse, and a rose on the reverse.

Mr. Prevost exhibited a bronze medal struck by the Swiss Numismatic Society to commemorate its annual meeting, October 18th, 1890.

The Rev. G. F. Crowther communicated a paper on a "Pax" penny of William I, reading on the reverse SEFMROI ON WITI, which had been attributed to the Witney Mint. The writer was of opinion that this coin as well as others with similar inscriptions were struck at Wilton and that no Mint ever existed at Witney. See *Num. Chron.*, vol. xi, p. 161.

Mr. Montagu read a paper on the confusion existing among numismatic authors, particularly Hildebrand, Ruding, Kenyon,



and others, between the Anglo-Saxon mints of Chester and Leicester, and pointed out that in many cases these had been reversed and the coins of one town attributed *en bloc* to the other. The paper is printed in the *Num. Chron.*, vol. xi, p. 12.

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FEBRUARY 19, 1891.

JOHN EVANS, Esq., D.C.L., LL.D., Sc.D., Treas.R.S., P.S.A.,  
President, in the Chair.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the table :—

1. Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift, 1891. Nos. 3—7. From the Publisher.
2. Annuaire de la Société française de Numismatique. November—December, 1890. From the Society.
3. Boyne's Trade Tokens issued in the Seventeenth Century. Vol. ii. Ed. by G. C. Williamson. From the Editor.
4. Bulletin de Numismatique. January, 1891. From the Publishers.
5. Zeitschrift für Numismatik. Bd. XVII. Heft III and IV. From the Editor.
6. Numismatische Zeitschrift. 2<sup>tes</sup> Halbjahr, 1889. From the Numismatic Society of Vienna.
7. The Journal of the Institute of Bankers. Vol. xii, Part I. From the Institute.
8. Monatsblatt der Numismatischen Gesellschaft in Wien. No. 90. From the Society.
9. Archæologia Æliana. Part XXXVIII. From the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-on-Tyne.
10. Manuale Hoepli. Numismatica. By Dr. S. Ambrosoli. Milan, 1891. From the Author.
11. Journal of Hellenic Studies. Vol. xi, No. 2. From the Hellenic Society.

12. Foreningen til Norske Fortidsmindesmerkers Bevaring. Memoirs, 1889. From the Society.

13. Om Lysekloster og dets Ruiner. By N. Nicolaysen. Supplement II to Kunst og Haandverk fra Norges Fortid. 1890. From the Society.

14. Undersøgelser i Trondhjem. By O. Krefting. Being Supplement I of the same. From the Society.

15. Catalogo della Collezione del. Dott. Tommaso Capo, 1891.

The President read a letter from the President of the Royal Numismatic Society of Belgium, announcing a congress at Brussels for the 5th of July, 1891, in commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the foundation of the society, and inviting the co-operation of members of the Numismatic Society of London.

Mr. L. A. Lawrence read a paper on the heavy and light coinages of Edward IV and Henry VI, in which he sought to fix the sequence of the issues by the style of the workmanship and the mint-marks. See *Num. Chron.*, vol. xi, p. 180.

MARCH 19, 1891.

JOHN EVANS, Esq., D.C.L., LL.D., Sc.D., Treas.R.S., P.S.A.,  
President, in the Chair.

The Rev. G. C. Allen, A. W. Daughlish, Esq., and M. R. Serrure were elected Members of the Society.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the table:—

1. Leake's *Numismata Hellenica*, with Supplement. London, 1856. From the Delegates of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

2. *Sitzungsberichte der K. Preussischen Akad. d. Wissenschaften zu Berlin*. Parts XLI—LIII. From the Academy.

3. Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift, 1891. Nos. 8—11.  
From the Publishers.

4. Journal of the Institute of Bankers. Vol. xii, Part II.  
From the Institute.

5. Rivista Italiana di Numismatica. Fasc. III and IV,  
1890. From the Publishers.

6. Le Monete dei Trivulzio. By F. and E. Gneecchi. From  
the Authors.

7. La Numismatique féodale de Dreux et Nogent au XI<sup>e</sup>  
Siècle. By R. Serrure. From the Author.

8. Catalogue des monnaies grecques de la Bibliothèque  
Nationale. Les rois de Syrie, d'Arménie, et de Commagène.  
By E. Babelon. From the Author.

9. Monatsblatt der Numismatischen Gesellschaft in Wien.  
Nos. 91, 92. From the Society.

10. Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London.  
Vol. xiii, No. 2. From the Society.

11. Numismatische Zeitschrift. Part I, 1889. From the  
Society.

12. Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie. Part  
II, 1890. From the Society of Northern Antiquaries, Copen-  
hagen.

13. Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland.  
Last quarter, 1890. From the Society.

Mr. L. A. Lawrence exhibited eight pennies of Cnut (Type VII of Hawkins, Type E of Hildebrand), with large quatrefoil on both sides, struck at Gloucester, Chester, and Exeter, exhibiting several small varieties in the field in front of the King's head not described in the text-books.

Mr. H. Montagu read a paper on the Durham pennies of Edward III, attributed to Bishops De Bury and Hatfield, in which he supported the old attributions in opposition to the views lately expressed by Dr. Evans. The paper will be found in *Num. Chron.*, vol. xi, p. 164.

APRIL 11, 1891.

JOHN EVANS, Esq., D.C.L., LL.D., Sc.D., Treas.R.S., P.S.A.,  
President, in the Chair.

James Kirkaldy, Esq., was elected a Member of the Society.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the table :—

1. *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift*, 1891. Nos. 12—15. From the Publishers.

2. *Annuaire de la Société française de Numismatique*. January—February, 1891. From the Society.

3. *Bulletin de Numismatique*. Part II, 1891. From the Editor.

4. *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de Picardie*. Nos. 2, 3, 1890. From the Society.

5. *Catalogue raisonné de la Collection de Deniers mérovingiens de M. Arnold Morel Fatio*. By M. A. Chabouillet. From the Author.

6. *Revue Belge de Numismatique*. Part II, 1891. From the Society.

7. *Smithsonian Institute Report*, 1888; *Smithsonian National Museum Report*, 1888. From the Institute.

8. *Journal of the Institute of Bankers*. Vol. xii, Parts III and IV. From the Institute.

The President exhibited a series of solidi of the emperors Gratian, Valentinian II, Theodosius I, Arcadius, Honorius, and Constantine III, found at Eye, in Suffolk, in May, 1781. From a Minute of the Society of Antiquaries, it appeared that the hoard of which these formed part comprised some six hundred gold coins.

Mr. L. A. Lawrence exhibited a half-groat of the last coinage of Edward III, with the inscription on the obverse EDWARD . DI . GRA . REX . ANGL . Z . FR. The words DI . GRA were previously not known to occur on half-groats.

Dr. B. V. Head communicated a paper on a small find of archaic Greek coins, attributed by him to Cyrene. The hoard consisted of tetradrachms of the Euboic standard, having on the obverses of all the specimens a bunch of grapes, and on the reverses (1) a helmet, (2) a head of Heracles, and (3) a running winged figure identified by Dr. Head as one of the Boreades. See *Num. Chron.*, vol. xi, p. 1.

Mr. W. Wroth communicated a paper on the coins of Eupolemus, a general of Cassander, only known to us from two passages of Diodorus Siculus. It is printed in *Num. Chron.*, vol. xi, p. 135.

MAY 21, 1891.

JOHN EVANS, Esq., D.C.L., LL.D., Sc.D., Treas.R.S., P.S.A.,  
President, in the Chair.

M. Ernest Babelon and M. J. N. Svoronos were elected Honorary Members of the Society.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the table :—

1. *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift*, 1891. Nos. 16—20. From the Publishers.
2. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 1889—90. From the Society.
3. *Mémoires de la Société royale des Antiquaires du Nord*, 1890. From the Society.
4. *Contributions of Alchemy to Numismatics*. By Dr. H. Carrington Bolton. From the Writer.
5. *Journal of the Institute of Bankers*. Vol. xii, Part V. From the Institute.
6. *Annuaire de la Société française de Numismatique*. Mars—Avril, 1891. From the Society.
7. *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest*. 4<sup>e</sup> trimestre de 1890. From the Society.

8. Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland. Vol. i, No. 5. From the Society.

The Rev. G. C. Allen exhibited a tetradrachm of Cyrene struck between B.C. 480 and 322, similar to Head, *Hist. Num.*, p. 730.

Mr. H. Montagu exhibited a unique silver medallion, or double denarius, having the bust of Julia Mamaea and the legend IVLIA MAMAEA AVG. MAT. AVGVSTI on one side, and on the other the busts facing each other of Severus Alexander and his wife Orbiana, with the legend IMP. SEV. ALEXANDER AVG. SALL. ARBIA ORBIANA AVG.; conclusively proving (in common with some rare bronze medallions) the relationship to Severus Alexander of the Empress Orbiana, who is absolutely unknown except on coins and marble inscriptions.

Col. F. Warren communicated a paper on coins procured by him during his residence in Cyprus, comprising specimens of the ancient Cypriote and Phœnician as well as of the Greek, Roman, and mediæval periods. See *Num. Chron.*, vol. xi, p. 140.

Dr. Evans read a paper on some rare or unpublished Roman medallions in his own cabinet, and exhibited specimens of Agrippa, Faustina I, Marcus Aurelius, Commodus, Alexander Severus, and Probus. See *Num. Chron.*, vol. xi, p. 152.

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JUNE 18, 1891.

#### ANNIVERSARY MEETING.

JOHN EVANS, Esq., D.C.L., LL.D., Sc.D., Treas.R.S., P.S.A.,  
President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the last Anniversary Meeting were read and confirmed.

Mr. Albert Charles Clauson, Lord Grantley, and Signor Giuseppe Nervegna were elected Members of the Society.

The Report of the Council was then read to the meeting as follows:—

GENTLEMEN,—The Council again have the honour to lay before you their Annual Report as to the state of the Numismatic Society.

With great regret they have to announce our loss by death of the following four Ordinary Members:—

John Butler, Esq.

The Rev. S. S. Lewis, F.S.A.

The Rev. Canon Marsden, B.D.

Robert Spence, Esq.

And of one Honorary Member:—

C. Roach Smith, Esq., F.S.A.

Also by resignation of six Ordinary Members:—

J. G. Hall, Esq.

W. Lees, Esq.

Lieut. H. Walters Morrison, R.A.

C. H. Nash, Esq.

H. Phillips, Esq.

J. S. Pitt, Esq.

The following name has also been erased from our list of Ordinary Members:—

E. H. Willett, Esq.

On the other hand the Council have much pleasure in recording the election of the following twelve Ordinary Members:—

The Rev. G. C. Allen.

Albert Charles Clauson, Esq.

Col. Clerk.

A. W. Daughlish, Esq.

C. D. Furdoonjee, Esq.

Lord Grantley.

W. Heaton Jacob, Esq.

J. Kirkaldy, Esq.

Signor Giuseppe Nervegna.

M. Raymond Serrure.

W. Beresford Smith, Esq.

C. J. Spence, Esq.

And of two Honorary Members :—

M. Ernest Babelon. | M. J. N. Svoronos.

According to our Secretary's Report our numbers are, therefore, as follows :—

	Ordinary.	Honorary.	Total.
June, 1890 . . . . .	258	30	288
Since elected . . . . .	12	2	14
	270	32	302
Deceased . . . . .	4	1	5
Resigned . . . . .	6	—	6
Erased . . . . .	1	—	1
June, 1891 . . . . .	259	31	290

The Council have further to announce that they have unanimously awarded the Medal of the Society to Dr. C. Ludwig Müller, Director of the Cabinet of Coins and of the Museum of Classical Antiquities at Copenhagen, for his distinguished services to the Science of Numismatics, more especially in connection with the coinage of the Kings of Macedon and Thrace and with that of Northern Africa.

The Treasurer's Report—which showed a balance of £226 10s. 7d. as compared with £193 17s. of last year—is as follows :—



Statement of Receipts and Disbursements of the Numismatic Society, from June, 1890, to June, 1891.

*Dr.* THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF LONDON IN ACCOUNT WITH ALFRED EVELYN COPP, TREASURER. *Cr.*

	£	s.	d.
To Messrs. Virtue & Co., for printing Chronicle, Parts I. and II. of 1890	68	3	9
ditto ditto Parts III. and IV. of 1890	93	0	0
The Autotype Company for Plates	59	19	7
"    "    "	6	14	6
"    "    "	11	17	9
The Royal Asiatic Society, 1 year's rent due Midsummer, 1891	20	0	0
Mrs. Parkinson, for refreshments to Christmas, 1890	3	11	8
ditto for Attendance to ditto	6	6	0
Messrs. H. Bowyer & Co., for Bookbinding	7	18	9
Mr. Augustus P. Ready, for taking casts, &c.	1	3	0
Messrs. Walker & Boutall for zincographing	1	18	0
Mr. R. O. Hearson, for Printing Receipt Forms	1	8	6
Messrs. Hachette & Cie., for "Dictionnaire des Antiquités"	0	3	9
Fire Insurance	0	15	0
Secretaries, for Postages, &c.	3	10	0
Treasurer, for Postages, Receipts, Stationery, &c.	5	10	3
Collector (A. W. Hunt), for Commission and Postages	6	9	10
Balance	226	10	7
	<u>£525</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>11</u>
By balance in hand			£226 10 7

Compared with the Vouchers, examined as to additions and found correct.

LONDON,  
16th November, 1891.

RICHARD A. HOBLYN }  
JOHN W. TRIST } *Auditors.*

18th June, 1891.

HONORARY TREASURER.

ALFRED E. COPP,

At the conclusion of the reading of the Report of the Council, the President addressed Mr. Grueber, as follows :—

Mr. Grueber, I have much pleasure in handing to you for transmission to Dr. Ludwig Müller, of Copenhagen, the medal of this Society, which has been awarded to him by the Council, in recognition of his distinguished services to the science of numismatics, especially in connection with the regal coinage of Macedonia and Thrace, and with the various coinages of Northern Africa. It was in 1855 that he published his *Numismatique d'Alexandre le Grand*, which was speedily followed by his *Münzen des Thracischen Königs Lysimachus*, both of which works remain standard authorities on the subjects of which they treat.

His other great work, the *Numismatique de l'ancienne Afrique*, had already been, to some extent, prepared by Falbe and Lindberg; but for the three volumes and the supplement, issued from 1860 to 1874, we are mainly indebted to the labours of Dr. Müller. Of his other publications, one of which, at least, dates so far back as 1838, I need hardly speak, nor need I do more than refer to the excellent arrangement of the cabinet at Copenhagen that has been so long under his charge. While we must deeply regret the attack of illness under which he is suffering, and which entirely precludes him from being present among us to-day, we all join in wishing him a speedy recovery and many future years of numismatic usefulness.

In reply, Mr. Grueber said :—

Mr. President,—I have very much pleasure in receiving, on behalf of Dr. Ludwig Müller, the medal of the Numismatic Society, which the Council have this year awarded to him for his valuable services to numismatics. I regret very much that Dr. Müller is prevented from being present this evening to receive the medal himself. Besides being well stricken in years, seeing from what you have told us that his published

works date so far back as 1833, and being afflicted with deafness, which makes a long journey a hazardous undertaking, he has this year been attacked by that unenviable malady, influenza, which has left him in a very weak state of health. In sending Dr. Müller the medal, I will give him the substance of the complimentary remarks which you have made this evening on his services to numismatics. I should like to express Dr. Müller's thanks in his own words, so, with your permission, I will read a translation of a letter which he wrote to you in reply to yours announcing to him the fact of the Council having awarded to him the medal for 1890—1891.

Copenhagen, 30 May, 1891.

DEAR SIR AND HONOURED COLLEAGUE,—By a letter, dated 22nd May, you have informed me that the Council of your Numismatic Society, at its last meeting, has awarded me the medal of the Society. I appreciate highly the honour which has been conferred upon me by this award, and I return to you and to your colleagues my sincere thanks.

You also inform me that the medal will be presented at the annual meeting on the 18th June.

I should much like to be able to avail myself of this opportunity to present myself to your Society, and personally to tender to you and to your colleagues my thanks. But an obstinate attack of influenza prevents my undertaking a journey during the month of June. I know of no one in London who could be present at the meeting to receive the medal in my name, and I accept, therefore, willingly your proposal to send it to me by one of the Secretaries of the Society.

Pray accept, Mr. President, the assurance of my most sincere esteem.

(Signed) L. MÜLLER.

To Mr. John Evans,  
President of the Numismatic Society of London.

The President then delivered the following address :—

In again addressing this Society on the occasion of its anniversary meeting, I am glad to be able to renew those congratulations which, on many former anniversaries, I have fortunately been able to offer.

Our Society, both as regards numbers and finances, is in a highly satisfactory condition. The Report of the Council shows that, while of our ordinary members we have, by death or from other causes, lost eleven, the new members elected have been twelve, so that our numbers are now 259, as against 258 at our last anniversary.

Of our honorary members we have lost one, while two have been added to our list.

Among all those who have been removed from our ranks by death, I must place foremost that veteran antiquary and numismatist, Mr. Charles Roach Smith, who, for upwards of fifty years, took a warm interest in the welfare of this Society, of which, since 1852, he had been an honorary member. In my anniversary address this year to the Society of Antiquaries I have given some account of his life and archaeological labours. Biographical notices of him have also already appeared in the *Journal of the Archaeological Association* and elsewhere, and he has left an autobiography in the shape of three volumes of *Retrospections, Personal and Archaeological*. My notice of his life need, therefore, be but short, and I shall, in a great measure, confine myself to the numismatic side of his labours. Charles Roach Smith was born at Sandown, in the Isle of Wight, in 1807; and, after rejecting other careers that had been set before him, ultimately settled in the City of London, about the year 1828. From a boy he had a passion for coins and antiquities, and he soon became known as a diligent collector, around whom gathered a circle of archaeological friends. His collection of London antiquities, eventually acquired for the British Museum, comprised a considerable number of Roman

coins, some of great rarity, as well as a large series of tokens. In the first List of Members of this Society, which, as is well known, was founded in 1837, the name of Charles Roach Smith occurs; and in 1841 he became one of our Honorary Secretaries, though, owing to the pressure of business, he resigned his office at the end of three years. His communications to the Society appear to have begun in 1839,<sup>1</sup> when he called attention to two small brass coins of Constantius II, with P. LON in the exergue. There are, however, in the first series of the *Numismatic Chronicle*, seven other papers from his pen relating to various finds or unedited varieties of Roman coins, and in addition, an account of the hoard of ancient British coins found at Weston, in Norfolk, as well as notices of Anglo-Saxon and Merovingian coins found at York and Canterbury.

To the second or new series of the *Chronicle* he furnished five articles, principally relating, as before, to Roman numismatics, but one to an unpublished penny of Ciolvulf, now in my cabinet. He likewise contributed five papers on various finds of Roman coins, and on a Legionary coin of Allectus to the third series of the *Chronicle*. His last paper in the *Chronicle* on the discovery of a hoard of Roman coins at Springhead, appeared at the close of 1887.

Besides an immense number of archæological papers, Mr. Roach Smith published several on numismatic subjects in the Journals of the Archæological Institute and the British Archæological Association, of which latter he was one of the founders.

Of his numerous communications to the Society of Antiquaries, one only was of a purely numismatic character, and related to some ancient British coins found at Chesterford.<sup>2</sup>

It was in the *Collectanea Antiqua*, a publication undertaken by Mr. Roach Smith in 1843, and of which the seventh and last volume did not appear until 1880, that his principal numismatic essays were published. In the earlier volumes are

<sup>1</sup> *Num. Chron.* i. p. 217.

<sup>2</sup> *Arch.* xxxii. p. 355.

several plates of ancient British coins, containing many hitherto unpublished types. A considerable number of Saxon and Merovingian coins found in England are also engraved, and full descriptive accounts of all are given. In the fourth volume begins a series of plates of coins of Carausius and Allectus, which extended to six in number, five of which were engraved by Mr. Roach Smith's old friend, Mr. Fairholt. The coins figured are upwards of seventy, and present, for the most part, novel types, and no student of Roman coins relating to British history should fail to consult these plates. In Mr. Roach Smith's accounts of the antiquities of Richborough, Reculver, Lymne, and Pevensey, the coins found receive proper consideration, and in the plates that are attached, figures of numerous coins of the British Emperors Carausius and Allectus are engraved.

About the year 1855, Mr. Roach Smith retired from London to a residence that he had purchased at Temple Place, Strood, near Rochester, where he devoted himself to numismatic, antiquarian, literary, and horticultural pursuits.

It was from this retreat that he was called in 1883 to receive the first numismatic medal that was ever awarded by this Society. It was conferred upon him in recognition of his services to numismatic science, more especially in connection with the Romano-British series, and the award was alike satisfactory to the Society and to the recipient. Of Mr. Roach Smith himself two medals have been struck, each bearing his portrait; the first, dated 1858, commemorates his having saved the Roman walls of the town of Dax from destruction, through the intervention of his friend, the Abbé Cochet, with the Emperor Louis Napoleon; the second, of larger size, and dated 1890, bears on the reverse the inscription—"To Charles Roach Smith, F.S.A., from Fellow Antiquaries and Friends in recognition of life-long services to archæology."

Of the value of these services the short notice that I have here given will, in some measure, enable you to judge. Of the

worth of his friendship and of the noble and disinterested features of his character, those who, like myself, enjoyed a personal acquaintance of upwards of forty years, can best form an opinion.

The Rev. Samuel Savage Lewis was well known as a diligent antiquary, numismatist, and collector, both of coins and gems ; and during his long residence at Cambridge, where he held a Fellowship in Corpus Christi College, and for some years was Secretary of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, he did much to foster a taste for archæological studies in that University. He was the third son of Mr. William Jones Lewis, surgeon, of Croydon, and through his mother was of Huguenot descent. After a distinguished career in the City of London School, he entered at St. John's College, Cambridge, in 1854 ; but, after becoming a prizeman in the following year, he was, through failing eyesight, compelled to give up for a time his University career. After some years spent in farming pursuits, both in England and Canada, he re-entered at St. John's in 1865, but soon migrated to Corpus Christi College, where he obtained an exhibition and scholarship. In 1868, notwithstanding the disadvantages of defective eyesight, he was bracketed ninth in the First Class of the Classical Tripos, and the next year he was elected a Fellow of his College. His Cambridge career has been fully set forth by Prof. T. McKenny Hughes, in his Presidential Address to the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, and I need here only speak of his numismatic work.

It was in February, 1870, that he was elected into this Society, and, in 1876, he communicated to the *Numismatic Chronicle* a short paper upon a coin, up to that time, unknown—the shekel of the fifth year, which he had recently added to his fine collection of Jewish coins. In the following year he gave us a note on a small hoard of Roman coins found at Knapwell, near Cambridge ; and, in 1882, he served upon our Council. Mr. Lewis was not only a good classical scholar, but an accomplished linguist, well versed in many modern and ancient

languages. His attachment to ancient gems brought him into close contact with the late Mr. C. W. King, whom he assisted in preparing his work on "The Gnostics and their Remains," and of whose "Antique Gems and Rings" he saw a second edition through the press. His own fine collections will, I believe, find a lasting home in the library of Corpus Christi College, to which he was much attached. His death was sudden, on the 31st of March last, at the age of fifty-four years. A more enthusiastic lover of all that related to glyptic art, or a man with a larger fund of general knowledge and erudition, which he was ever ready to place at the disposal of others, it will indeed be difficult to find.

The Rev. John Howard Marsden, B.D., Rector of Great Oakley, Essex, and at one time Canon of Manchester, was also a Cambridge man. He was the son of a distinguished father, the Rev. W. Marsden, the author of the *Numismata Orientalia*, and graduated at Cambridge in 1825, in the second class of the Classical Tripos, and, in 1826, in the first class of the Mathematical Tripos. He obtained, soon afterwards, a Fellowship at St. John's, and was Hulsean lecturer in 1843. As an antiquary he was best known as having held the Disney Professorship of Archaeology at Cambridge, from 1851 to 1865. A volume of his Introductory Lectures in that capacity was published in 1852, and in 1854 he took an active part at the Cambridge meeting of the Archaeological Institute, to the journal of which he was an occasional contributor. He was elected a member of the Numismatic Society in 1863, but never favoured us with any communication. He died at the age of eighty-seven.

Our medal, as you have heard, has this year been bestowed on a veteran numismatist, Dr. Ludwig Müller, of Copenhagen, whose labours have now extended over a period of over fifty years, and whose principal numismatic works still hold their position as standard books of reference.

With regard to our domestic affairs, there is only one point to which it seems desirable to refer. Owing to the expiry of



the lease under which this house has been held by the Royal Asiatic Society, they have, in order to obtain a renewal of their tenancy, been obliged to submit to the payment of a largely-increased rental, and, not unnaturally, have called upon their under-tenants to assist them in bearing the burden thrown upon them. The Council have felt the justice of the claim, and though we can no longer enjoy the exceptional advantages hitherto given us by the Royal Asiatic Society, the advanced rent of £30 per annum does not appear unreasonable for the accommodation afforded.

I must now shortly pass in review the principal subjects to which, during the last year, the attention of the Society has been called.

In Greek numismatics we have had an important and interesting paper from my son, Mr. Arthur John Evans, on some new artists' signatures on Sicilian coins. He has made the curious discovery of the name of an engraver Kimôn on an early tetradrachm of Himera, of probably not later date than 450 B.C. As he points out, the Kimôn thus recorded can hardly be the same as the well-known engraver of the tetradrachms and pentekontalitra of Syracuse, struck during a period of a few years before and a few after 400 B.C. Not improbably the older Kimôn may be, as suggested, the grandfather of the later engraver of the same name; but under any circumstances the coin of Himera seems to be the earliest of the Greek coins hitherto known upon which the name of the artist who engraved the dies is given.

The name of another artist, hitherto unknown to fame, begins with the letters MAI, possibly Mæôn or Mæthiôn. He also worked for the mint at Himera, but at a later period than the older Kimôn, though no doubt before the year 409 B.C., when Himera was destroyed by the Carthaginians. The signature of the later Kimôn the author finds on a coin of Messana, showing that the distinguished artists of those days, as indeed was already known, did not confine their services to a single

mint. Of other names of engravers those of Evarchidas at Syracuse, recently discovered by Professor Salinas, of Palermo, of Parme . . . also at Syracuse, and of Exakestidas, already known as an artist at Kamarina, may be cited. Of Phrygillos and Evarchidas other specimens are mentioned. The whole paper is one of great importance as bearing on the development of Greek art in Sicily, and tends to show that the received chronology of the Sicilian coin-types of the latter part of the fifth century B.C., is susceptible of a considerable amount of revision.

Our honorary member and medallist of last year, M. J. P. Six, of Amsterdam, has supplied us with a further instalment of his list of unedited and uncertain Greek coins. Among them there are some that he attributes to Eccarra in Thessaly; others to the dynasts of Teuthrania and Pergamus, and to a son of Alexander the Great and Barsine, of the name of Hercules. Some early Lydian coins M. Six finds reason for attributing to Alyattes, about 600 B.C., though many of them have usually been assigned to Miletus. The attribution of a number of electrum staters to Chios seems not altogether indisputable, though the suggestion that the archaic coins found in the hoards of Thera and Melos, and reading **VAO**, were struck at Olymos, in Caria, appears well worthy of consideration. M. Six proceeds to attribute some early rude coins to Mylasa, and with more certainty, describes some coins of Hecatomnos and Maussolos. Others he attributes to Salmacis, a Persian satrap in Caria, and to Audymon, a king of Salamis, about B.C. 415. The assignation of some other coins to Chalcia and Caunos is also discussed. The paper is long and extremely suggestive, and whether all that is proposed meets eventually with universal acceptance or not, the publication of the types and inscriptions, and the discussion of their possible bearing and meaning, and of what may be their proper geographical position, cannot fail to aid in the advancement of knowledge.

Mr. Warwick Wroth has favoured us with an account of the

most important of the Greek coins acquired by the British Museum in 1889. It is hard to select from among them those that are most worthy of notice, but a didrachm of Sybrita, in Crete, of early fourth-century work, an early silver coin of Elis, a stater of Lampsacus with the head of Demeter or Persephone on the obverse, another of Mytilene, and a small silver coin of Ialysus seem to me specially interesting.

Mr. Wroth has also directed our attention to the coins of Eupolemus, with three Macedonian shields on the obverse, and with his name and a sword on the reverse. They have been sometimes assigned to a supposed king of Pæonia, but the Eupolemus of the coins is now regarded as the general of the Macedonian king Cassander, who is twice mentioned by Diodorus Siculus, and who led an expedition against Caprima, in Caria. Mr. Wroth regards the coins as having been all struck in Caria, and probably in the town of Mylasa.

Our excellent secretary, Dr. Head, has given us a valuable paper on Archaic Coins, probably of Cyrene. The principal of these formed part of a small hoard of silver coins of the Euboic standard, found in the island of Cos, the obverse type being a bunch of grapes, and the reverse a helmet, a head of Herakles, or a running figure, identified by the author as one of the Boreades. The coins are curiously connected together, by the fact that some with different reverse types have been struck from the same obverse die, while some with the same reverse have a different obverse. The execution of the grapes is very rude, so much so that on some of the coins the type might almost be regarded as a cluster of dates. The identification of the winged wind-god is substantiated by a remarkable Cyrenean Kylix from Naukratis, on which the Boreades are represented in conjunction with the well-known silphium, which they are defending from an attack of Harpies. To us in catarrhal England it may appear strange that the north winds were worshipped as beneficent divinities, while the south were regarded as malevolent Harpies. But circumstances alter cases. Dr. Head takes

in the same paper the opportunity of transferring to Cyrene some tetradrachms with the types of a lion devouring his prey on the obverse, and the fore part of a winged boar on the reverse, which he had formerly assigned to Clazomenæ, in Ionia.

The notes on coins found in Cyprus by Colonel Falkland Warren relate not only to Greek coins, among which is one that appears to be a new coin of Evagoras, but also to some imperial and mediæval coins. Among the last is a rare bezant of Isaac Comnenus, as well as a still rarer silver coin, which is attributed, and apparently with reason, to Robert de Sablé, Grand Master of the Knights Templars, who, in 1191, acquired the Island of Cyprus from our Richard I. As Guy de Lusignan was proclaimed king of Cyprus in 1192, the extreme rarity of the coins issued by Robert de Sablé is readily understood.

Col. Warren has also met with some rare coins of Guy de Lusignan and his successors, among them one of John I, and a new variety of the *gros* of James II.

The only paper that we have had relating to Roman numismatics was one by myself on some imperial medallions, principally of bronze, but one of them struck in commemoration of Faustina the Elder thickly plated with silver. Although in many instances we are able to determine the date of medallions, and in some cases can be certain of the occasion on which they were struck, the types of the reverses are often very difficult to elucidate, and any attempt to interpret their symbolism is to a certain extent hazardous.

We have had but one paper also bearing directly upon the Anglo-Saxon coinage. In this our Vice-President, Mr. Montagu, discusses the question as to the claims of the Leicester and Chester mints to the coins which, by Hildebrand and others, have been assigned to them. He shows, I think conclusively, that as a rule the coins assigned by Hildebrand to the Chester mint were in reality struck at Leicester, while those attributed to Leicester were issued from the Chester mint. It is a question

to which, on the suggestion of Mr. Montagu, I alluded in 1885, in my account of some Saxon pennies found in the city of London, and my observation that, as a rule, the letter R entered into the first part of the name of Leicester on Saxon coins, while it is absent on those of Chester, seems to hold good.

On the English coinage we have had even more than our usual number of essays, showing that on many points, notwithstanding the number of those who have specially studied the English series, there is still room for discussion; it may perhaps be added that possibly even now the last word upon some of them has not been said.

The Rev. G. F. Crowther has attempted a chronological arrangement of the pennies of William I and II, which, being based upon a somewhat larger range of induction, differs in several respects from that adopted by the late Mr. Hawkins, and continued by Mr. Kenyon. Mr. Crowther's arrangement brings together the types which, so far as the obverse is concerned, seem to be closely related to each other, and places the series in what he regards as their natural order; but even here there seem breaks in the sequence, his Type VI, Hawkins, No. 238, with stars on either side of a full-faced bust, being widely separated from his Type XVII (Hawkins, No. 250), with a nearly similar bust. As the reverse of Type VI approximates closely to one of these of Henry I (Hawkins, No. 255), it seems doubtful on that ground also whether Type VII ought not to be brought down and placed alongside of Type XVII. I am not, however, prepared to criticise Mr. Crowther's paper, as it would be out of place in the present address. The key of the position is, as he has said, the date of the issue of the PAX pennies, and as yet this is uncertain. Still more uncertain is the place in the series, even when it is satisfactorily arranged, where the coinage of the Conqueror ceases and that of Rufus begins. Hoards that may be discovered in the future will probably aid in fixing more certainly the sequence of the types, but in the meantime we must be

grateful to Mr. Crowther for his labours, and for having so clearly placed his deductions from them before us.

Mr. Crowther has also gone into the question whether certain coins of Harold II and of William, hitherto attributed to the mint of Witney, ought not to be transferred to that of Wilton, and shows good reason for the transference.

Mr. Montagu has favoured us with another paper on the Durham pennies of Edward III, in which he supports the established opinion as to the attribution of certain coins to Bishop Hatfield, and of there being none that can be attributed to Bishop de Bury. In a paper that I wrote on a hoard of coins found at Neville's Cross I advocated a different view, and I can only express my regret that it has not met with the approval of so practised a numismatist as our Vice-President. He has certainly brought forward many reasons for holding that the Edward III pennies of the ordinary Durham fabric were struck under Bishop Hatfield, whether the crosier in which one of the limbs of the cross on the reverse terminates be turned to the right or to the left.

Mr. L. A. Lawrence has communicated to us a valuable paper on the sequence of the coins, both of the heavy and light standards, of Henry VI and Edward IV, and has done much towards establishing a satisfactory chronological arrangement of the different mint-marks. Though writing principally with reference to the silver coinage, Mr. Lawrence has wisely called in the aid of the gold coinage, the evidence of which is, of course, of no little value in such a question. The coinages in the two metals are also employed in illustration of each other in some notes on the coins of Henry VII, communicated by Mr. A. E. Packe. He regards, however, the mint-marks as being rather those of the engravers of the dies at that period, than as being indicative of a certain issue of coins, though this latter was the case at a somewhat later date, when the mint-mark was annually changed.

Mr. Packe makes some very ingenious suggestions as to the

cause of the adoption of some of the special mint-marks in use under Henry VII. The escallop which was adopted in 1492, on the establishment of the new type of angel, he correlates with the capture of Granada by Ferdinand, whose conquest was celebrated by a solemn thanksgiving service at St. Paul's. At that time the alliance between the Kings of England and Spain was close, and the emblem of St. James of Compostella, the escallop, might, it is suggested, well have been adopted in compliment to Spain. The sovereigns of Henry, the author thinks, may have been struck with the special view of their being distributed as *largesse* on some great State occasions, such as the creation of his eldest son Arthur as Prince of Wales, his subsequent marriage, and the creation after his death of his brother Henry as Prince of Wales. How far these suggestions may bear the test of time I will not venture to say, but the whole paper will bear careful study, and its author may well be congratulated on the new light that he has thrown upon some obscure points in English numismatics.

We have to thank Mr. Grueber for again furnishing to us a paper on English Personal Medals from 1760, which he has now brought down as far as the letter F.

The only Oriental paper published this year is one by Mr. E. J. Rapson on Gupta coins, founded to some extent on an article on the coinage of the Early or Imperial Gupta Dynasty of Northern India, by Mr. Vincent Smith, the worthy son of our late old and valued honorary member and medallist, Dr. Aquilla Smith, of Dublin. Mr. Fleet's great work on the Gupta inscriptions has also been called to his aid by Mr. Rapson, whose notes conclude with a list of the coins of the Gupta class in the Bodleian Library, and in the collection of Mr. Wilmot Lane.

Among the more recent numismatic publications I may mention Mr. Stanley Lane Poole's final volume of the British Museum Catalogue of Arab coins, which contains a general index that will prove of the highest value to those who are interested in this series.

The catalogue of the coins of the kings of Syria, Armenia, and Commagene in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, has been issued by M. Babelon, and forms probably the most valuable introduction to the coinage of the Seleucid kings of Syria that has as yet appeared. It is to be hoped that similar catalogues of the rich collections in other departments that are preserved in the Cabinet des Médailles will from time to time make their appearance. I must again express my regret that the series of plates illustrative of M. Muret's catalogue of the great collection of Gaulish coins in the Paris Cabinet has not as yet been published. Without the plates much of the value of M. Muret's comprehensive work is lost.

The *Traité de Numismatique du Moyen Age*, by MM. Arthur Engel and Raymond Serrure, forms a fitting sequel to their *Répertoire de la numismatique française*, and will be found of great service by all who are interested in mediæval numismatics.

In conclusion I may just mention my own Supplement to the "Coins of the Ancient Britons," in which the observations of a period of twenty-six years are summarised, and a considerable number of new types and varieties recorded, while something has been done towards extending our knowledge of the geographical distribution of the coins of different kings and princes.

Turning for a moment to the subject of current coins, I may mention that a small committee, consisting of Sir John Lubbock, Sir Frederick Leighton, Mr. Powell, Sir C. W. Fremantle, the Deputy Master of the Mint, Mr. R. B. Wade, representing the joint-stock bankers, and myself, has been appointed to consider the whole subject of the designs on our coins, with the view of removing some of the objections to the present issue. The committee have held several meetings, with the result that seven or eight artists of distinction have been invited to send in designs for the sovereign and the half-sovereign, the crown, half-crown, florin, and shilling. To guide them in preparing the



work, certain conditions have been laid down with regard to the designs, which are to be sent in at the end of October next. It is earnestly to be hoped that among the designs that will be furnished some at least may be thought worthy of being adopted, and may help to place the coinage of this country, so far as design is concerned, in its proper place among those of the rest of Europe. Looking, however, at the great difference between the usual work of the sculptor and that of the medallist engraver, and again at the necessary difference between a medal in high relief and a coin in such relief only as will permit of a number of pieces being piled the one on the other, my hopes are not unmingled with some mistrust as to the eventual success of our endeavour to procure fitting designs for the coinage. Even Evænetos or Kimôn, were they now alive, would find no little difficulty in producing dies for coins adapted to meet all the requirements of a modern currency.

With regard to the denominations of the future coins, it seems probable that the double florin or four-shilling piece may be withdrawn. In my individual capacity, I am still anxious to plead for the introduction of a thirty-shilling piece in gold, a coin which, as I have now for some years pointed out, would greatly conduce to public economy and convenience. I have, I think, nothing to add to this brief summary of the numismatic life of the past year, and it only remains for me to thank you for the attention which you have bestowed on this address and for the kind sympathy which so many of the members of this Society have extended to me during the sad trial through which I have been called upon to pass.

The Meeting then proceeded to ballot for its Council and Officers for the ensuing year, when the following gentlemen were elected :—

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